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Military Denies Naval Forces Are CFE Obstacle

LD0804125191 Moscow TASS in English 1216 GMT 8 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy]

[Text] Moscow April 8 TASS—"Certain forces, seeking to gain as many unilateral military advantages as possible from the implementation of the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE), are laying new claims on the Soviet Union," Colonel Georgiy Paladyuk, staff member of the Legal Treaty Department of the Soviet Armed Forces' General Staff, told TASS.

He spoke in connection with the publication of a report in the Czechoslovak newspaper HOSPODARSKE NOVINY by Colonel Jiri Divis, deputy head of the Foreign Relations Department of the Czechoslovak Armed Forces' General Staff.

According to the newspaper, Divis said that "armaments of the Soviet Marines have become a stumbling block on the way to the CFE treaty ratification".

Colonel Paladyuk, participant in the Vienna talks on disarmament issues, refuted Divis' statement as "absolutely unfounded". He recalled that naval forces had been excluded from the negotiations by the mandate of the talks signed by all negotiators. "This was insisted upon by the United States and its NATO allies, not by the Soviet Union," Paladyuk said.

He maintains that the marine units in question had been formed during the Soviet Armed Forces' change-over to a defensive doctrine to protect the country's sea coasts. "This was done before the CFE treaty was signed and it was not a secret," Paladyuk pointed out.

Speaking about the transfer of some armaments from the European part of the Soviet Union to beyond the Urals, Paladyuk emphasised that the European public had been informed in advance about these steps.

'Collective Will' Needed to Curb Arms Trade

PM0504135991 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 3 Apr 91 First Edition p 5

[IAN correspondent V. Katin report for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA: "The Arms Trade: Fair of Military Vainglory"]

[Excerpts] Luxembourg—The Persian Gulf War has died down and now the same Western diplomats who failed to prevent it are busy imposing a "new order" in the Near and Middle East. It is being specifically proposed that a permanent organ—a conference on security and cooperation along the lines of the all-European one—be created.

The drafts and plans for postwar reorganization contain what I consider a sensible idea: To block the mass sale of modern types of weapons to the highly explosive region. Some politicians are going further, proposing that all output produced by the manufacturers of death be subjected to rigorous international control. There are more than enough arguments for this. As the Iraq-Iran war and the Iraq-Kuwait conflict have shown, these tragedies might not have happened without the mountains of arms obtained abroad. "Who, may I ask, supplied Saddam Husayn with the rope with which he wanted to hang us?", the famous French political scientist T. de Montbrial, asks. [passage omitted]

The story with Iraq is a classic example of this: Frequently the very same firms supplied arms to both warring sides. National legislators in individual states cannot introduce effective bans, because all kinds of indulgences and loopholes would inevitably appear. What is needed here is rather a collective will, like the will the United Nations demonstrated in adopting resolutions and sanctions against Iraq. The 30 states participating in the anti-Iraq coalition also displayed enviable will and determination when they attacked this long-suffering country en masse. Therefore we could also make joint efforts to try and break this vicious circle of the arms race in which our planet has found itself.

Let me remind readers that in 1977-1978 the USSR and the United States held talks on the reduction of arms sales to third countries and a certain mutual understanding was even reached. However, the Americans broke off the talks and, having thought about it for three whole years, declared that supplies of means of warfare are "an integral component of their foreign policy, capable of demonstrating strength." Now is perhaps the time to revert to this topic in Soviet-U.S. relations.

Gremitskikh Press Briefing Reviewed

LD0804164191 Moscow TASS in English 1537 GMT 8 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kanischev and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Excerpt] Moscow April 8 TASS—[passage omitted] Speaking about Soviet Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh's current visit to Yugoslavia, [Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman] Gremitskikh noted that Bessmertnykh was due to hold talks on bilateral cooperation and burning international issues with the view to taking into account and coordinating mutual political and economic interests.

As regards Aleksandr Bessmertnykh's visit to Greece on April 9 and 10—directly after his visit to Yugoslavia—Yuriy Gremitskikh noted that this would be the first visit by a Soviet foreign minister to that country in the entire history of Soviet- Greek relations.

The spokesman said that the Soviet foreign minister's visit to Greece would be highlighted by such "an important political event as the initialling of the treaty of friendship and cooperation between the two countries."

Soviet-Greek contacts and cooperation, the diplomat added, are interesting also because nearly 350,000 Greeks now live on Soviet territory. Recently an association of Soviet ethnic Greeks was established, which hopes to make a major contribution to the development of Greek culture and language on Soviet territory andn the development of relations between the two countries.

Gremitskikh then told the briefing about Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy's visit to Africa, which begins on Tuesday. Petrovskiy is due to visit Senegal, the Ivory Coast, Ghana, Nigeria, Zaire, Zimbabwe and Tanzania.

This group of countries was chosen for a purpose. It includes U.N. Security Council member-countries and the major states which are among the leaders of the Organisation of African Unity and the non-aligned movement.

Petrovskiy is due to convey to the leaders of these countries a verbal message from the Soviet leadership, the spokesman said.

He also told the briefing that during his trip, Petrovskiy was expected to discuss a number of questions relating to the new, post- confrontational world order and new prospects for multilateral cooperation. He will discuss the role of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and the non-aligned movement in this process.

He is also expected to exchange views with the leaders of African countries on preventing and settling crises in the inter-state and political spheres, as well as in the economic and ecological fields. In addition, the sides will consider ways in which the United Nations and other international organisations can adapt to new world realities and improve their efficiency.

The deepening and development of bilateral relations between the Soviet Union and African countries will also be high on the agenda of talks.

Gremitskikh told the briefing that the Soviet Union was ready to take part in the buffer forces in Iraq and said different options were proposed for the composition of such forces. He noted that the optimal solution to the problem would be found through a discussion in which different viewpoints will be represented.

Position on Kurds Clarified

LD0804133791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1244 GMT 8 Apr 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow 8 Apr (TASS)—Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy chief of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Information Directorate, made a statement today on the problem of Kurdish refugees during a routine briefing. It says, in particular:

"The Soviet Union is disturbed at the fate of the Kurdish refugees who have accumulated on the Iraqi-Turkish and Iraqi-Iranian borders. It is a question of hundreds of thousands of people whose tragic situation cannot but evoke pain and sympathy. The Soviet public is not indifferent to this question, all the more so since tens of thousands of fellow countrymen of the Iraqi Kurds inhabit the USSR.

"The world community cannot remain neutral in such a situation either. Apart from the humanitarian aspect of the situation that has evolved, it is also concerned that the mass accumulation of refugees on the borders of Iraq with Turkey and Iran and their crossing over to the territory of these countries brings an international dimension to the problem, which threatens additional complications for the situation in the region.

"This serious concern was reflected in the resolution adopted by the UN Security Council the other day, for which the Soviet Union also voted. This decision was dictated by a wish to ease the plight of the refugees and to prevent the situation from escalating into a major hotbed of tension. The adoption of this resolution does not, of course, signify any interference in the internal problems of Iraq. Their resolution is solely a matter for Iraq and its people.

"Any humanitarian aid aimed at easing the lot of the Kurdish refugees can only be welcomed."

Responding subsequently to journalists' questions about assistance the USSR could give the refugees, Yuriy Gremitskikh noted that "the Soviet side—and this does

not only mean state institutions, but also various public organizations—will give what help it can to the Kurdish refugees."

UN Gulf Crisis Resolution Detailed

LD0404172691 Moscow TASS in English 1503 GMT 4 Apr 91

[By TASS international analyst Yuriy Tyssovskiy]

[Text] Moscow April 4 TASS—The U.N Security Council resolution 687, approved today, is aimed at laying the groundwork for the final settlement of the Iraq-Kuwait crisis. It creates conditions for ruling out new aggressions in the Gulf region. Soviet delegate to the United Nations Yuliv Vorontsov has described it as a document of major significance.

The resolution says that an official ceasefire between Iraq and the multinational coalition will come into force immediately after Baghdad accepts all its terms. The latter, as believed by political analysts, are tough but fair.

The international community demands the unconditional destruction, under international control, of all Iraqi chemical and bacteriological weapons, as well as ballistic missiles with a range of over 150 kilometres. It also demands a ban on all Iraqi purchases or production of nuclear weapons. As to compensation for the huge damage caused to Kuwait—the aggressor's victim—and to other states that have incurred substantial financial and economic losses due to Baghdad's aggression, it is planned to set up a special fund for this purpose, subsidised from Iraqi oil profits. The U.N. Security Council also demands the honouring of borders between Iraq and Kuwait, constantly encroached upon by Iraq.

It is generally believed that Saddam has no leeway for further manoeuvres and that he will be compelled to accept resolution 687. The huge multinational force, controlling about 20 per cent of Iraq's territory, will serve as an instrument to tacitly pressure the Iraqi regime. Some delegates have expressed regret during security council sessions that no deadline was set for the evacuation of allied troops.

It ought to be noted, however, that resolution 687 makes the security council responsible for supervising all processes linked with its implementation. This means that its members will always be able to revert to the problem of evacuating allied troops from the region if it comes to that.

The Iraqi press is trying to question the lawfulness of this resolution, believing that it reflects the U.S. Desire to "establish direct hegemony over the region and to control world natural resources". It is worth noting two points in this context. Firstly, Saddam knew what he was doing when he triggered the Gulf conflict, and his regime must bear full responsibility for the consequences of its rash behaviour. Secondly, resolution 687 has been signed by all the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council. It is supported by the majority of the world community and reflects its unbending will to prevent any new aggression that contradicts the United Nations charter.

Soviet Delegate Lists Aims for CSCE Assembly

PM0804120791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Apr 91 Second Edition p 4

[Report by PRAVDA correspondent V. Volkov and TASS correspondent R. Serebrennikov: "CSCE Parliamentary Assembly: The View From Moscow"]

[Text] Madrid, 3 Apr—A lively debate on the future development of all-European structures has unfolded at the meeting of legislators from the CSCE states taking place in the capital's Palace of Congresses. There has been a detailed discussion about parliaments' broader participation in the all-European process through the creation of a CSCE parliamentary assembly.

The first session was addressed by A.S. Dzasokhov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on International Affairs. In view of the results of the debate in the Soviet legislature, he said, I would like to offer a perception of questions connected with the formation and functioning of the future legislative forum.

Since we are embarking on a discussion of the formation of an assembly and of its legal nature, jurisdiction, procedure, and standing orders, the head of the Soviet legislative delegation continued, I would like to make a contribution to the debate and express the following ideas.

In the first place, in our view, the CSCE legislative forum should essentially complement the all-European structures which the Paris CSCE summit agreed to set up. We see the assembly as an autonomous legislative entity. This does not mean that the forum would not be able to base itself on the experience and, possibly, the mechanisms of such proven organs of cooperation as the Council of Europe legislative assembly.

Second, on the matter of the assembly's jurisdiction, we are of the view that it is predetermined by the all-European nature of the organ. We believe that the principle of consensus should apply both in the adoption of decisions on procedural or organizational questions and on all other questions, including questions of a political nature.

Third, we think it is of key significance that this meeting should define the principle governing the future CSCE assembly's decisionmaking. Here again we are clearly in favor of consensus, which has been one of the main sources of the strength and authority of the Helsinki process ever since its foundation.

Fourth, on the question of the size and memnbership of the assembly we have an open mind. We would be prepared to support the proposal by the representatives of a number of delegations on establishing an equal, minimum number of legislators per country and granting

additional seats to each country depending on its financial contribution, which, it seems to us, should be determined by the well-known scale of expenditure distribution that operates in the CSCE.

Fifth, the interesting question of how the assembly's sessions will be conducted. We are in favor of one session per year. If there is a need to hold an extraordinary session, separate decisions would be taken, by the consensus method.

Sixth, we support the establishment of an institution (council) of delegation leaders, who would meet prior to the plenary sittings of the CSCE parliamentary assembly.

In conclusion, on behalf of the Soviet legislators, A.S. Dzasokhov expressed a willingness to contribute to the solution of problems of vital importance for the continent and to the triumph of the dream that many generations have had of creating a united, democratic, secure, and prosperous Europe.

Outlook After Warsaw Pact Demise Viewed

91UF0601A Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 2 Apr 91 p 5

[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences A. Yazkova: "Two Days Without Allies; No War So Far"]

[Text] *The military structures of the Warsaw Treaty are no longer in effect. How will this affect the future of Europe?*

It is now obvious that the predictions of a majority of politicians and political scientists of East and West were wrong. Last summer, when participants in the meeting of the Political-Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organization stated in their declaration that it was necessary "to overcome the bloc-based model of security and the division of the continent," many influential organs of the world press received with satisfaction provisions of the declaration according to which "elements of confrontation found in the documents of the Warsaw Treaty and the North Atlantic Alliance no longer reflect the spirit of the times." The readiness of the Warsaw Treaty countries to interact with NATO in solving European security problems was stressed. References were made to the constructive role of the Warsaw Treaty Organization in integrating the countries of Eastern Europe and the USSR into a new Europe.

Soon thereafter, a program of actions aimed at reinforcing political elements in the strategy of the North Atlantic Alliance was proclaimed at the London session of NATO. In the West they began to talk about the establishment of a new order in Europe being possible with a less active role played by NATO, and with a weightier contribution by the CSCE [Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe] as a universal foundation for the creation of unified political structures in Europe.

Therefore, a certain degree of mutual understanding and trust between the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO began to emerge at the level of intentions.

How and why, half a year after the June conference of the Political-Consultative Committee, did the process of "de-blocing" in Europe result in a rapid dismantling of the Warsaw Treaty, surprising many people very much, along with the simultaneous preservation and even reinforcement of the European structures of NATO?

Appeals to dissolve the Warsaw Treaty Organization began to sound more and more persistently in Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and subsequently in Romania and Bulgaria. The initiative of M.S. Gorbachev to reform the Warsaw Treaty military organization before 1 April, forwarded several days before the February conference of the Political-Consultative Committee held at the level of ministers of foreign affairs, was called upon to literally protect "the honor of the uniform." Shortly before this, a meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs of Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland was held in the Hungarian city of Visegrad, where it was stated directly that, in keeping with the expression of the will of their governments and parliaments, the participants in the meeting insist on dissolving the Warsaw Treaty as soon as possible. In their opinion, it was desirable to dissolve its military organization before the previously coordinated deadline, and to fully dissolve the Warsaw Treaty Organization before the end of this year.

It appears that there was a reason why the positions of the three countries, that had previously differed substantially, drew closer together in the second half of January, namely after the events in Vilnius. In the summer and fall of 1990 Hungary repeatedly mentioned its intention to leave the Warsaw Treaty Organization, whereas the Czechoslovak parliament called on its government to speed up negotiations concerning leaving the Warsaw Treaty and disso'ving it immediately after discussing the events in Lithuania. Having considered an offer by the North Atlantic Assembly, the parliamentary organ of NATO, the Hungarian parliament voted at almost the same time in favor of Hungary becoming an associate member of the North Atlantic Alliance.

The situation in the Baltic area was undoubtedly interpreted by our East European allies as obvious proof of perestroyka being rolled back and right-conservative forces in the USSR being on the offensive. "The Baltic syndrome" gave the immediate political impetus for making the above political decisions but, of course, it was not the original reason for them. All attempts to return to the past in relations with the USSR were definitely unacceptable even before that to politicians who had become leaders of the countries allied with us. It appeared impossible to preserve the Warsaw Treaty in its previous form, primarily because throughout the 35 years of its history it acted as an ideological, or rather ideologically driven, bloc, an association of the states of administrative-command "socialism" with a similar nature, rather than a military-political bloc.

The Warsaw Treaty was an instrument of political and ideological confrontation in relations with the West. Also, it held Eastern Europe on an ideological "leash." We should contemplate the fact that the armies of the Warsaw Treaty countries were used only twice, and on both occasions it was to solve internal problems: to suppress antitotalitarian explosions in Hungary in 1956 and in Czechoslovakia in 1968. This is why the Hungarian parliament referred to the relevant decision of the government of Hungary on 1 November 1956 when giving the motives for its decision to withdraw from the Warsaw Treaty Organization, and President of Czechoslovakia V. Havel described the Warsaw Treaty as "an instrument of Stalinist expansion" reducing the countries of Eastern Europe to the position of satellites. In the opinion of a number of contemporary authoritative East European politicians, after the fall of the previous regimes in Eastern Europe the Warsaw Treaty may only be preserved as a temporary political organization for conducting disarmament negotiations.

The issue of our relations with the countries of East-Central Europe has another equally important aspect: A considerable segment of our population viewed the stationing of Soviet troops in Eastern Europe as a guarantee of the security of the USSR. Hence the painful response of many people to the need for the Soviet divisions to come home and regret over "the stolen victory."

However, what political or other results did we secure by means of the forced cooperation of "fraternal countries of the socialist commonwealth" with us within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty? It would suffice to mention the excessive burden of ideological, political, and military control over Eastern Europe our people had to shoulder. What we had to pay for attempts, running counter to common sense, to set the Warsaw Treaty against virtually all Western countries, especially if we take into account the fact that the Soviet contribution to the Warsaw Treaty Organization military organization exceeded 90 percent, whereas the American contribution to NATO amounted to merely about 50 percent.

The countries of East-Central Europe will be able to "dash toward Europe" in the foreseeable future if they take the path of economic and political reforms and of enhancing and reinforcing the elements of democracy and general civilization. However, at present the West Europeans are in no hurry to expand the European community, to say nothing of NATO, by admitting the states of the former socialist commonwealth, primarily because of their internal economic and political instability. Even in the former GDR, considered to be "the showcase of socialism," the current scope of manifestations against a lower standard of living—unavoidable under reforms—is on a par with that of "the fall revolution" of 1989. A departure from "real socialism" is not easy for other countries as well, to say nothing of the explosive potential of their interethnic and interstate differences.

So far, the foreign policy bearings of a majority of our allies in the technically still existing Warsaw Treaty have not been determined. In the long run, a united Germany using instruments as reliable as business, finance, and trade may become a significant factor in stabilizing the situation in East-Central Europe. However, its enhanced influence causes the Europeans to be apprehensive about traditional German expansionism. In turn, this bolsters the understanding of the fact that "crowding the USSR out" of the region altogether is not by any means in their objective interest. We should add to this that the interest is great in both the West and East of Europe in completing the Vienna talks on conventional forces which, as is known, are conducted on a bloc basis.

All of these and many other considerations favor the preservation of consultative structures within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty that will make it possible to exchange views on the state of affairs in the region if needed. I believe that this could be of interest to all, especially if it comes to mutual territorial designs after the disintegration of the Warsaw Treaty, that in principle is not ruled out. For example, it was recently reported that Slovakia is concerned about claims to its eastern areas by the nationalist forces of the West Ukraine. In Romania, a map is being disseminated putting Moldova and some areas of the Ukraine, Hungary, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria within its borders. In turn, Hungary is preoccupied with developing a new military-political doctrine, the so-called strategy of "all-around defense. Its army will be dispersed throughout its territory preparing to repulse strikes from all directions, including those of its former allies. For its part, Hungary pays them back "in kind." Recently, Prime Minister J. Antall stated that, while being prime minister of 10 million Hungarians in his country, "in his soul and in his feelings, he remains prime minister of 15 million Hungarians."

Instability in the East of Europe, and especially the current state of affairs in the Soviet Union, causes reforms in the North Atlantic Alliance to be slowed down to a certain degree. At the NATO headquarters they continue to talk about making the bloc political and giving up "forward defense" and the concept of "flexible response." However, political observers believe that within the framework of a new doctrine there will be a niche for rapid deployment forces capable of preventing the spread of critical situations in Europe and prepared to act in any environment, using various types of weapons.

It appears that under the circumstances the Warsaw Treaty cannot and should not retire from the arena of history without a trace. The issue of disbanding its military structures has already been resolved. The time for its transformation into a political union is gone. Besides, in the environment of radical changes in the internal policies of the allied countries, the old foundation of the Warsaw Treaty has ceased to be attractive for anyone. Neither the countries of Eastern Europe nor the Soviet Union need a Warsaw Treaty burdened by the

legacy of the "cold war" and the stamp of totalitarianism. However, this is not to say that the common objective interest of our countries in establishing mutually advantageous cooperation will disappear with the departure of the treaty. It would be altogether uncivilized to sever or weaken various ties, including those of friendship, that have developed in recent years and decades.

A position recently stated by Rudolf Slansky, ambassador of Czechoslovakia to the Soviet Union, to the effect that his country needs to cooperate "with any Soviet Union, whatever it may become," appears constructive. In this matter, common sense replaces "ideological brutality." Only common sense may become a foundation for the future development of relations between the former allies in the Warsaw Treaty.

Europe-Japan Air Route to Transit USSR

LD0804142291 Moscow TASS in English 1120 GMT 8 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow April 8 TASS—A long-term programme to intensify air traffic between Japan and Western Europe via the USSR was launched in April.

According to the USSR Ministry for Civil Aviation, the number of flights should increase to 130 by 1994. Eighty of them will be effected by Japanese air companies on Boeing planes and 51, including 10 freight flights, by Soviet flyers on IL-62 airliners. The Japanese side has received the right to effect direct and transit flights to eight additional West European cities.

Japanese aviation experts show great interest in the new profitable air route. The JAL air company leads the field. It effects more than 20 direct flights a week to West European cities on the trans-Siberian line and two transit flights via Moscow. JAL planes account for 31 per cent of the total number of passenger places on this line. Aeroflot accounts for only 6.4 per cent.

JAL is interested in promoting cooperation with new Soviet air companies. At the same time, it intends to expand contacts with Aeroflot and promote cooperation in marketing, personnel training and improvement of passengers services. JAL is interested in building hotels for air passengers in several Soviet Cities, including Moscow.

United States & Canada

U.S. Coverage of Caucasus Events Viewed

91US0422A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 Apr 91 First Edition p 3

[Article by A. Denisov: "They Are Boasting of Their Guns" subtitled "Events in the Soviet Transcaucasus Through Americans' Eyes"]

[Text] The political processes occurring in the Soviet Union at this time, particularly the on-going development in a number of areas of nationalist trends, are at the center of the attention of the administration, Soviet studies centers, and media of the United States. The articles, roundups, and reports appearing in U.S. newspapers and magazines permit the conclusion that Washington is not only studying and forecasting the possible directions of the further development of the domestic political situation in the USSR but also engaging in certain actions for exerting an active influence on it.

A particularly great deal of attention has been paid recently to an analysis of the development of the nationalist and separatist trends in the Soviet Transcaucasus, where, in the opinion of leading U.S. Sovietologists, they have developed the most. The policy being pursued by the Georgian leaders is aimed, in their estimation, at the acquisition of state independence, to which, as American specialists on the Soviet Union emphasize, all the recent decrees and decisions of the Georgian Supreme Soviet, including that on the formation of its own armed formations in the shape of the so-called "national guard" supplementary to the Georgia militia and Ministry of Internal Affairs controlled by Georgian nationalists, testify.

In the estimation of American Sovietologists, Georgia's leaders will, in the event of their goals being achieved, aspire to the preservation only of economic relations with the Soviet Union, primarily with the Russian Federation, which, in their opinion, receives virtually nothing from Georgia and is at the same time supplying this republic with practically everything necessary for its vital activity.

The recent efforts of the USSR Government to stabilize the overall situation in the Soviet Union and the decisions adopted by President M.S. Gorbachev in the sphere of the fight against organized crime in the country could, in Americans' opinion, prove potentially effective for the establishment of legality and law and order. At the same time Americans note the assertive activity of Georgia's leaders to counteract the measures of the Union leadership and prepare for a possible unfolding of "civil war" on the territory of the republic. For instance, Arianne Jenillard writes in an article in THE WASHINGTON TIMES entitled "Soviet Georgians Fear the Hammer": "On the grounds of a former youth camp a former Soviet paratrooper named Irakliy trains large groups of adolescents in methods of close combat, urban guerrilla operations, and shooting. Like thousands of other Georgians, Irakliy is a member of an illegal armed group ready to fight for the republic's independence."

In U.S. Sovietologists' opinion, there are at the present time in Georgia well-armed formations not only of legalized nationalist institutions but also "underground" criminal groups. In addition, according to U.S. estimates, the vast majority of the Georgian male population not only on the territory of the republic itself but in other parts of the USSR also illegally owns weapons at this time. "Foreigners in Tbilisi," Mark Champion observes in THE WASHINGTON POST in an article entitled "Soviet Georgia Is Forming a National Guard, Throwing Out a Separatist Challenge to the Kremlin," are immediately struck by the large number of weapons among the public. ...In the corridors of the Tbilisi Intourist Hospital Georgians unabashedly boast of their guns." It is observed that persons of Georgian nationality are participating actively throughout the Soviet Union in various activities in support of their national leaders, for the collection of material and financial resources, weapons, and ammunition to be forwarded to Georgia and for maintaining contacts with representatives of Georgian colonies in other states included. According to that same WASHINGTON POST correspondent Mark Champion, Georgian Interior Minister D. Khabuliani has confirmed that "the number of weapons in Georgian citizens' personal possession is growing.... The weapons are coming from the Army, other Soviet republics, and Turkey."

Such processes are occurring in the other Transcaucasus republics also. The newspaper RUSSKIY VESTNIK, specifically, writes that news has been received from Lebanon concerning the detention there of three motor vehicles, in which a large quantity of weapons and ammunition intended for shipment to Armenia had been discovered.

As a whole, it would seem that the Americans are evaluating what is happening in the Soviet Union, in the Transcaucasus specifically, more realistically and fully than are the Soviet media and, possibly, the statements of certain officials.

Of course, you do not have to agree with the U.S. assessments. And, indeed, I would very much hope that the conclusions of U.S. Sovietologists and the reports of Western mass media are wrong. But the realities of our day are every reason to believe that U.S. specialists on the Soviet Union are in their assessments and forecasts not that far from the truth. One involuntarily asks in this connection: Has nationalism so clouded the minds of Soviet people, the Georgian people included, that they can no longer soberly assess what is happening in the country and where certain national leaders and movements are attempting to lead them?

Northeast Asia

Official Assesses Bessmertnykh Visit To Japan

OW0904063691 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 6 Apr 91

[Excerpt] Moscow Radio correspondent (Andrey Nudrov) on 3 April had an interview with Mr. Panov, chief of the Foreign Ministry's Pacific Ocean and Southeast Asian Countries Administration. Mr. Panov has been a member from the beginning of a group preparing for President Gorbachev's visit to Japan.

This interview took place two days after he returned from a tour of Japan and China, accompanying Foreign Minister Bessmertnykh. (Nudrov) asked the following question: In what type of atmosphere did Foreign Minister Bessmertnykh's meetings with Japanese leaders take place? Mr. Panov replied as follows:

The meetings were of the same nature as the foreign ministers' negotiations in January. While the meetings were carried out in a business-like and constructive manner, they were full of goodwill. The desire to turn the summit in Tokyo two weeks later into a fruitful one is making us work in unity. Although President Gorbachev's visit to Japan is an epochal event, it must not stop there. Indeed it must be made into one which opens up a new frontier in the development of bilateral relations.

The meeting held in Tokyo last month can be said to have been the the final step in preparations which have been under way since last September for the big event, President Gorbachev's visit to Japan. In the short period of the last half year, I think the two countries have accomplished much.

Asked to expand upon his remark that the two countries have accomplished much, he replied as follows:

All documents to be signed at the time of the president's visit have been agreed to in essence. They consist of 15 or 16 agreements which have not existed so far. There is also an agreement on issuing a joint statement at the conclusion of the visit. This will become a very important document, which will have very great significance in future bilateral relations.

Naturally, issues related to a peace treaty will be discussed in the summit, and even in that area there have been a certain number of results. The two countries' positions on the text and concept of the text visibly have drawn nearer. Of course, the territories question remains, but that also will be discussed. Soviet leaders are willing to hold frank talks with the Japanese side, coming to this arena of dialogue.

There has also been a common understanding reached on the idea that we must not think our work has been completed with the conclusion of the agreements during President Gorbachev's visit to Tokyo. On the contrary, the visit must enable us to open up a new stage. It is easy to sign agreements on paper. What is important is whether decisions can be implemented effectively. We already have begun to agree on the draft mechanism for guaranteeing the implemention of all the decisions. Therefore, on the whole, we are satisfied with our visit to Japan as well as the preparatory work for President Gorbachev's visit. We are convinced that there will be remarkable progress in Tokyo for the development of our bilateral relations. [passage omitted]

Near East & South Asia

Belonogov Arrives in Morocco for Mideast Talks

LD0604165291 Moscow TASS in English 1536 GMT 6 Apr 91

[by TASS correspondents Sergey Babkin and Oleg Shirokov]

[Text] Rabat April 6 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Belonogov arrived in Morocco today for political consultations on important international issues and bilateral cooperation.

In a statement at the airport, Belonogov said he had arrived in Rabat at the invitation of the Moroccan side to discuss issues of mutual interest, primarily Soviet-Moroccan relations.

Commenting on international problems, he said that the Soviet Union, as well as Morocco, are interested in further developments in the Gulf.

Soviet-Moroccan consultations will focus on a Middle Eastern settlement, including the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestinian problem, Belonogov said.

Holds News Conference

LD0904003391 Moscow TASS in English 2158 GMT 8 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondents Sergey Babkin and Oleg Shirokov]

[Text] Rabat April 9 TASS—"Relations between Morocco and the USSR are gradually developing, and we are satisfied with their state," Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Belonogov on Monday told a news conference held after the first meeting with State Minister for Foreign Affairs Abdellatif Filali.

Belonogov noted that during the talks with Filali, the sides discussed the situation in the Gulf and Iraq, developments in the Middle East, a West Saharan settlement, as well as bilateral relations.

Asked whether the viewpoints of the USSR and Morocco on the problem of Iraqi Kurds concur, Belonogov pointed to the difficulty of this problem, stressing that the two sides favour the preservation of Iraq's territorial integrity.

Speaking about the Soviet attitude to a referendum on a West Saharan settlement, Belonogov said that the USSR is maintaining constant contacts on this problem with U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar and U.N. Security Council member-countries.

"Our efforts are aimed at bringing closer the time of the referendum," he stressed. Belonogov noted that a U.N. mission that will be charged with the referendum, should be a simple enough and efficient mechanism and expressed hope for a peaceful solution of the West Saharan problem.

Turning to the Palestinian problem, Belonogov noted that, in the opinion of the USSR, it is the core of the Arab-Israeli conflict, without the settlement of which it is impossible to ensure peace in the Middle East.

He pointed to the need to continue relations with the Palestine Liberation Organisation as the only body representing the Palestinian people.

Soviet Officers To Join UN Gulf Observers

PM0804155091 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Apr 91 Union Edition p 4

[Correspondent A. Shalnev report: "Soviet Servicemen Will Be Sent to the Persian Gulf Region"]

[Text] New York—The Soviet Union will send servicemen to join the observers' groups which will be stationed, in accordance with the UN Security Council decision, in the demilitarized zone between Iraq and Kuwait.

An accord to this effect was reached at consultations between representatives of the five permanent members of the Security Council. It was communicated to UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar, who is entrusted with overall leadership of the observers' mission.

Our officer servicemen will be few in number, not more than 20. The total strength of the group, not counting auxiliary personnel, will be 300. Apart from Soviet officers, the group will also include officers from the four other permanent member countries of the Security Council, and other states will also be represented.

As a high-ranking UN-accredited diplomat told me, the need for Soviet officers to participate in the observers' group was emphasized by the Kuwaiti delegation, in all probability because of the "special relationship" that still exists between us and Iraq. You can imagine, the diplomat noted during our conversation, that from the Kuwaitis' viewpoint the degree of influence that Moscow still retains in Baghdad will help to give greater weight and substance to the observers' group if Soviet officers are included.

On Saturday, the expiry of the three-day period granted to him by Security Council Resolution 687, Perez de Cuellar submitted to the council his report on the organization of the observers' group.

It emerges from the report that a total of approximately 1,500 servicemen of all ranks will be deployed in the demilitarized zone, which will be 200 km long. This includes five infantry subunits, which, according to the secretary general's report, will be responsible for protecting the observers' mission; a sapper unit for disarming mines in the zone; an aviation unit; and a material and technical supply subunit.

For all this the UN secretary general is asking for about $125 million dollars, which will form the budget of the observers' group solely in its first year of existence and to which, according to the secretary general's report, all possible additional expenditure should be added.

I do not rule out that this section of the report—the expenditure on maintaining the mission—could prompt serious objections from a number of countries belonging to the Security Council which believe that the mission could cost less if, for instance, the numbers of auxiliary personnel were cut. The United Nations is well known for its tendency to go in for rather large-scale projects and programs in connection with peacekeeping operations in various regions—projects which, in total, amount to astronomical sums, running to billions, and placing a substantial burden on the Soviet Union among others.

The functions of the observers' mission are defined as such in the secretary general's report: "To prevent violations of the Kuwait-Iraq border and observe any hostile or potentially hostile acts by one state with regard to the other." The mission will only be able to use force for self-defense purposes, and will not be entitled to "resort to physical measures to prevent the sending of military personnel or military equipment into the demilitarized zone."

I would like to remind you that under Resolution 687, adopted last Wednesday, the stationing of observers in the demilitarized zone is to serve as the basis and starting point for the commencement of the withdrawal of allied troops from Iraq. This same resolution, as it is well known, makes provision for the destruction of Iraq's stocks of chemicals and biological weapons, as well as certain categories of ballistic missiles. The question has already arisen: Where will the chemical weapons be destroyed, and who will pay for it?

Proposals are being put forward at the United Nations to the effect that Iraq itself should pay for the equipment needed to destroy its arms. But where is this equipment?

At the end of last week the Security Council adopted what is basically an unprecedented resolution. By 10 votes "for" to three "against," with two abstentions, it censured the repression unleashed by the Baghdad regime "against Iraqi civilians, which constitute a threat to international peace and security in the region."

The resolution is unprecedented in that it is devoted to the internal affairs of a sovereign state, which was

previously a taboo subject for Security Council documents. Doubts as to whether the Security Council is acting correctly by adopting such a decision have been expressed quite heatedly. According to some reports, we too had initial reservations concerning, in particular, the use of the term "censure" in the draft resolution submitted by France. In the end the reservations were lifted. India and China retained their reservations, and abstained. Both countries, as well as Cuba, Yemen, and Zimbabwe, which voted against, are perhaps proceeding on the basis that this resolution, numbered 688, will become a precedent for UN interference in their own internal affairs, as well as those of other states.

Be that as it may, the argument that prevailed was that the mass flow of refugees toward international borders and their crossing of the borders entail a threat to security in the region as a whole, thus ceasing to be solely Iraq's internal affair.

This UN Security Council resolution called on the secretary general to "use all available resources in order immediately to meet the urgent needs of refugees and displaced persons." There is also an appeal to "all states and all humanitarian organizations to help make humanitarian efforts."

But the resolution does not stipulate any punitive measures against Iraq—in the event that Baghdad refuses to fulfill the Security Council decision and does not stop the repressions, as it is asked to do. In this sense the resolution's effectiveness is basically consigned to a very low level.

Military Adviser Views U.S. Policy on Iraq

LD0504043191 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Arabic 1400 GMT 4 Apr 91

[Excerpts] Blood is still being shed in Iraq after 40 days of air raids, after 100 hours of land operations by the multinational forces, and after the great number of human victims and the human pains to which the civilian population was subjected in the course of the Gulf event. The Iraqis then went to fight each other and civil war is raging in the country. We asked our military adviser Dr. Sergey Aleksandrov to talk to us about the current developments in Iraq and the opposition that is confronting the ruling regime of Baghdad.

[Begin recording] [passage omitted] [Unidentified correspondent] Can you talk to us about your view on the U.S. Administration's policy toward the civil war in Iraq.

[Aleksandrov] I believe that the U.S. Administration has not yet defined its position toward the events taking place in Iraq, the best proof for this are the talks being held in Washington these days between American officials and the delegation of Iraqi opposition. Until now the official position of the U.S. Administration can be summed up as noninvolvement in the Iraqi civil war but I think that this standpoint is likely to change. It must be said, however, that the U.S. Administration faces a difficult choice, the White House does not wish to deal with Saddam Husayn's regime and at the same time fears the ascension to power of Islamic fundamentalists. In addition to this there are fears related to the consequences of U.S. military intervention in the battles taking place in Iraq. In the case of Washington intervening, world public opinion will condemn such a decision considering that it goes beyond the powers obtained by the U.S. Administration in the light of the UN Security Council resolution allowing the liberation of Kuwait and not the occupation of Iraq and the removal of its ruling regime. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Academic Considers Postwar Gulf Settlement

PM0804171091 Moscow IAN PRESS RELEASE in English 3 Apr 91

[Report on comments by Vitaliy Naumkin, Deputy Director of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences, by Nikolay Vikhklyaev; date, place not given: "Vitaliy Naumkin on a Postwar Settlement in the Middle East"]

[Text] Professor Vitaliy Naumkin is the Deputy Director of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Below he shares his views on a post Gulf War settlement with Novosti's Nikolay Vikhlyaev:

The end of the war in the Persian Gulf has confronted the world with the problem of stabilising the situation in the Middle East and creating a new order which would exclude the repetition of crises capable of entailing military operations.

Stability in this region meets the interests of the Arab countries, the United States, the Soviet Union and Western Europe. To achieve it, they are ready even to give up some of their principles concerning the Middle East settlement which only recently seemed to be unshakeable.

Today the Arab world can sacrifice its claims for asserting the Arab factor in the world arena in favour of removing contradictions among Arab countries, stabilising the situation and resolving urgent issues.

The United States, which has undoubtedly great interests in the Middle East, also shows a tendency of waiving its old guidelines. I do not think the USA wants to preserve its strong military presence in this area; it strives to ensure the security and stability in the region, the stability of oil deliveries, without resorting to power.

It was believed in the West that the Soviet Union would allegedly try to use any chance to preserve its influence in the region. However, that was not so, as it has turned out. The USSR does not intend to do it either through military deliveries or by supporting any regime in opposition to the majority, which is stirring up instability.

From my point of view, the Soviet position on the Middle East settlement is very close on the whole to the position of the Arab countries and the West. The Soviet Union stands for a "New World Order" which would rest on a lower militarisation level, on new principles of relations among states, on strict international guarantees of non-use of force and the guarantees against outburst of military actions, conflicts and so on.

The Soviet Union believes that the Middle East countries themselves should establish such a system by concluding bilateral and multilateral agreements. I think this position is more correct and realistic than imposing any order on the Middle East from outside. Though the states in the region have often failed to adopt such decisions without outside assistance, in the final analysis, it will be up to them to decide. Other countries can help them do it.

Foreign military presence in the region is another important issue which also concerns the Soviet Union, though it is not inclined to dramatise the situation. From my point of view, it is necessary after resolving all pressing problems to return to the level of foreign military presence which existed until August 1, 1990. I do not see any excuses for maintaining a higher level if all problems are settled. They should apparently be solved on the basis of collective agreements. A guarantee of this is growing understanding among permanent members of the UN Security Council.

One more important issue is to change the background against which the war in the Persian Gulf broke out, that is, to settle all conflicts, above all, the Arab-Israeli conflict. I think the Soviet Union is showing greater understanding of late that it is necessary to discuss any schemes of the Middle East settlement.

Though the Soviet Union has its own approach (through an international conference), and I do not see any other better way, I still admit that there may be modifications of this idea, for instance, a series of conferences or a number of preparatory stages.

The well-known American expert William Quandt, with whom I met and worked in Paris, is elaborating an idea (which is also being considered by the US administration) of convening a Middle East regional conference. Without going into details, I can say that it is one of the ideas that can be discussed.

Much is being said about lowering the militarisation level in the region. It is a very serious issue. The Soviet Union believes that the world community has to take all necessary measures so that there will be no chemical, bacteriological or nuclear weapons in the region.

This is not a simple question because Israel believes that its nuclear weapons are the only means of defending the country from the overwhelming non-nuclear conventional forces of the Arab countries. Apparently, this issue could be solved by establishing non-nuclear zones and banning chemical and bacteriological weapons in the region.

Then, it would be possible to go over to reaching agreements on decreasing military deliveries. The problem is very difficult, and my attitude to it is pessimistic. Trade in arms resembles drug trafficking, only a few can resist the temptation to get so much money.

However, I look optimistically at the nearest prospect of the developments in the Gulf area and around it. It can definitely become much better. There is a hope that very necessary and indispensable agreements can be concluded. But I am rather pessimistic about settling Arab-Israeli contradictions, because I do not see here any realistic moves.

The situation is almost hopeless, but it must be changed by all means, though it is very difficult due to the tough position of the Israeli leaders, above all. The United States is attempting to make them start a direct dialogue with the Palestinians who are prepared for a broad range of concessions in order to find a way out of the crisis. Apparently much time will pass before the first realistic step is taken - talks, elections or at least contacts.

The United States is doing much today to find a way out of the blind alley. I think that George Bush has made an important statement—territory in exchange for peace must become a principle of a settlement. From my point of view, the Americans have for the first time shown that they sincerely want to achieve progress in resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Europe has long been known as an advocate of a flexible attitude to this issue. The Soviet position is very close to the European. But without the United States, without appreciable influence on Israel, neither the Soviet Union, nor Western Europe, nor both together will be able to do anything. The collective efforts of all sides concerned are necessary.

Commentary Assails Baghdad 'Genocide' Policy

LD0804161791 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 8 Apr 91

[Yuriy Solton commentary]

[Text] The Kurdish uprising against the regime of Saddam Husayn has been crushed violently. The Kurds began an armed struggle, apparently counting on American military aid, as Washington called on the Iraqis to take their (?fate) into their own hands. The Kurds have lost. Today they are suffering possibly the greatest tragedy over the long years of their actions in defense of their autonomy, and there are 4 million Kurds in Iraq, that is about 20 percent of the entire population of that country.

Troops loyal to Saddam Husayn staged real massacres in the Kurdish cities and villages they seized: Earlier,

chemical weapons were used against the Kurds, now they are sprayed with napalm. The Kurds are fleeing through [as heard] the neighboring Iran and Turkey. One half of the refugees have streamed there. Iraqi helicopter gunships fire at the people who are fleeing from repression. The refugees are blown up on land mines, they die on the roads across snow-covered mountain passes of hunger and exposure. They drown themselves in the streams of fast mountain rivers. More than 1 million people have already crossed the borders with Turkey and Iran, another 1 million are expected to do the same. Turkey and Iran lack facilities to give shelter to all the refugees, to feed and dress them.

The Kurdish people's tragedy causes anguish and outrage. No one, neither Americans nor anyone else, is going to interfere into the internal affairs of Iraq. But it would be a crime to shut one's eyes to the policy of genocide against the Kurds pursued by Baghdad. Last Friday the United Nations Security Council adopted a resolution by a majority vote to denounce the actions of the Iraqi government, which has organized a massive destruction of Kurdish insurgents in the northern areas of the country. The resolution demands that Baghdad should immediately stop the repressions against peaceful civilians and urges the world community to rush humanitarian aid. Such aid is already reaching the Kurds. On Sunday United States transport planes began to drop in parachutes foodstuff, tents and blankets in the northern mountain areas of Iraq where Kurds live, and other countries declare they also intend to extend humanitarian aid to the Kurdish population in its dire plight.

No one should remain indifferent to the tragedy of the Kurds, and I believe that the United Nations must act more decisively to prevent further repressions over the peaceful Kurdish population.

East Europe

Bessmertnykh Pays Official Visit To SFRY

Welcomed by Loncar

LD0804110191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1000 GMT 8 Apr 91

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Apr (TASS)—USSR Foreign Minister A.A. Bessmertnykh arrived here today on an official visit. The Soviet guest was met at Belgrade airport by Budimir Loncar, the SFRY federal secretary for foreign affairs, and other officials.

The Soviet minister will conduct talks with the head of the SFRY department of foreign affairs and meet with Borisav Jovic, president of the SFRY Presidency; and Ante Markovic, head of the country's government, during the two-day visit to Yugoslavia.

Main attention during the talks will be paid to the development of bilateral cooperation and to topical international problems in the framework of the assessment and coordination of mutual political interests.

Meets With Loncar, Others

LD0904102491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0922 GMT 9 Apr 91

["Report on Bessmertnykh's visit to Yugoslavia"—TASS headline]

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Apr (TASS)—USSR Foreign Minister A.A. Bessmertnykh was in Yugoslavia on an official visit on 8-9 April. He had meetings with B. Jovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, and also with A. Markovic, chairman of the Federal Executive Council of the SFRY.

The special features of the present stage of European development were examined in the plane of major principles, and the largely similar problems which have arisen for the Soviet and the Yugoslav public were analyzed.

Talks were held with B. Loncar, SFRY federal secretary for foreign affairs. Both sides emphasized the priority which the USSR and SFRY attach to relations with one another, which are an important factor for European stability. A high appraisal was made of the character of today's Soviet-Yugoslav ties, of the actively developing political dialogue, and of the wide-ranging cooperation in various spheres. At the same time, serious concern is aroused by the sharp downturn in economic cooperation, where the disruption of certain traditional lines of joint work is to be observed. Urgent attention has to be devoted to overcoming the negative tendencies.

A.A. Bessmertnykh and B. Loncar exchanged information on the internal political situation in the Soviet Union and in Yugoslavia. Here it was stressed that the Soviet Union wishes to see in the SFRY a unified and prosperous state. It actively advocates the preservation of Yugoslavia's territorial integrity and the inviolability of its borders and opposes the internationalization of its problems, which would run counter to the fundamental documents of the pan-European process.

B. Loncar gave a high appraisal of this standpoint of the Soviet Union. For his part, he stressed that in Yugoslavia they wish perestroyka success and would like the Soviet Union to continue to play an active and comprehensive role in the international arena, on the premise that its policies are an element of equilibrium and stability in the world.

The discussion of international problems, which brought out much that the approaches of the two sides have in common, took place in a creative atmosphere. A considerable amount of time was taken exchanging views on the prospects for the pan-European process and on the enriching of Europe's political architecture. The immediate aim is the productive holding of the meeting of foreign ministers of 34 states in Berlin this June. Then

will come the Moscow conference on the human dimension of the CSCE, which it would also be fitting to open at ministerial level.

Both sides reaffirmed their interest in promoting the idea of convening a conference on security and cooperation in the Mediterranean and the Near East.

The ministers shared their impressions of the numerous contacts that each had had on the problems of creating a security system in the Persian Gulf and of a Near East settlement. It was noted that while there do exist some encouraging moments, a range of uncertainties also remains, which will take considerable further efforts to work out.

The ministers agreed to hold regular consultations between the USSR and SFRY at the level of experts on key problems of international life.

A ceremony was held for the signing by A.A. Bessmertnykh and B. Loncar of an environmental conservation cooperation agreement. On behalf of the USSR president, A.A. Bessmertnykh presented the Order of Friendship of Peoples to M. Veres, former SFRY ambassador to the USSR.

The Soviet minister had a meeting with representatives of the Yugoslav "Children of Chernobyl" committee, who gave an invitation for a large group of children, numbering 2,500, from the stricken regions of Russia, the Ukraine, and Belorussia to have holidays in Yugoslavia. A.A. Bessmertnykh expressed deep gratitude for this noble initiative.

Comments on Bilateral Ties

LD0804202591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 8 Apr 91

[Report by correspondent V. Nogin in Belgrade; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, USSR minister of foreign affairs, arrived in Yugoslavia today for an official visit.

[Nogin] Yugoslavia is the first European state which Aleksandr Bessmertnykh is visiting in the capacity of a minister. [passage omitted] Answering a question put by Soviet television on his first impressions in Yugoslavia, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Bessmertnykh said:

[Begin Bessmertnykh recording] The trip has been in the works for a long time and it is the result of the traditional need to exchange opinions on all major issues of bilateral relations, as well as opinions on the most topical problems of international life. I must say that the talks currently under way have shown from the very beginning the proximity of viewpoints on the most fundamental aspects of bilateral relations—we have discussed them in a quite detailed way.

I must say that there are problems, first and foremost, in the sphere of trade and economic ties. Perhaps, we failed to think everything thoroughly through when the new system of transferring to freely convertible currency was being set up as part of these relations. In any case, both sides are aware of the necessity to seek new forms and methods of setting up specific co-operation in all sorts of spheres. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Troop Withdrawal From Poland Begins 9 April

LD0904101391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1954 GMT 8 Apr 91

[By TASS special correspondent Vladas Burbulis]

[Text] Borne-Sulinowo (Koszalin Voivodship), 8 Apr (TASS)—"I want to stress that the process of bringing Soviet troops home from the Republic of Poland would have begun this spring in any event, even if the Polish Government had not addressed such a request to us. In accordance with the defensive doctrine adopted in the USSR, Soviet troops will not be stationed on the territories of other states." Colonel General Viktor Dubinin, commander of the Northern Group of Forces, representative of the USSR Government on the sojourn of Soviet troops in the Republic of Poland, stated this today at a news conference in the Soviet military garrison in Borne-Sulinowo (Koszalin voivodship), dedicated to the start of the planned withdrawal of Soviet troops from the Republic of Poland.

On 9 April we are starting the withdrawal of units and subunits planned for this year, he stressed, without waiting for the presidential summit meeting of our two countries, and even in the absence of a treaty on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland. We are starting the troop withdrawal with heavy weaponry. A Guards rocket brigade is leaving for the USSR on that day in full complement. During 1991, a number of units and subunits of aviation, communications, and engineering troops will be withdrawn from Poland, as well as, at the request of the Polish Government, individual tank and artillery subunits, the total number of which will amount to more than 10,000 men. Seven Soviet military settlements with all buildings—hostels, schools, hospitals, and so forth—will be handed over to the Polish side.

The commander of the Northern Group of Forces especially emphasized the fact that this action has been undertaken by accord between the Government of Poland and the USSR, and the final schedules for withdrawal of all Soviet troops from the Republic of Poland will be agreed upon during Polish President Lech Walesa's visit to Moscow.

KGB Denies Harming Bulgarian Interests

LD0604135991 Moscow TASS in English 1338 GMT 6 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow April 6 TASS—The USSR Committee for State Security [KGB] today denied recent allegations

in the Bulgarian mass media that it harmed Bulgarian national interests working in cooperation with Bulgarian secret services.

Cooperation between the KGB and the Bulgarian Interior Ministry has been in full accordance with the May 12, 1967 Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation and was based on equality, respect for state sovereignty and non-interference in each other's affairs, the KGB said in a press release.

The security sevices of the two countries have adapted their cooperation to new trends in their internal and foreign policies, it said.

The two agencies currently exchange information on international terrorism, drug traffickers and organised crime, it said.

"Insinuations and the search for a new 'external enemy' in the Bulgarian mass media harm the traditional friendly ties between our states and saw mistrust and suspicion. The responsibility for this should be borne by authors of such publications and those who are behind this ungainly campaign," the KGB statement said.

Hungarian Prime Minister Views Moscow Talks

LD0404203191 Budapest MTI in English 1915 GMT 4 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow, April 4 (MTI)—The drafting of the new Hungarian-Soviet basic inter-state agreement is expected to be completed by mid-April. The date of the Hungarian prime minister's visit to Moscow will be set after that, Ferenc Somogyi, state secretary of foreign affairs, told Hungarian journalists after his talks in Moscow.

Since the drawing-up of the agreement is not hindered by any principled obstacle, there is a fair chance that the final draft will be wound up during Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Kvitsinskiy's visit to Budapest in mid-April, Somogyi said.

The state secretary concluded from his talks that the Soviet side regarded the Hungarian prime minister's forthcoming visit to Moscow with the utmost importance, seeing it as opening a new chapter in relations.

The Hungarian prime minister's message to Mikhail Gorbachev, which Somogyi handed over to Soviet Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh on Wednesday, also emphasized the importance of developing relations, and proposed that bilateral consultations should be launched at various levels to deepen these ties.

The state secretary said his visit was aimed at the discussion of topical international affairs. Somogyi held talks with Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy on issues related to Hungary's membership of the UN Security Council from January 1 next year.

Somogyi held talks with Andrey Kozirev, Russian foreign minister, as well. The establishment of contact with Russia was particularly important since Soviet-Hungarian economic co-operation focussed on Russia, even previously, Somogyi said.

West Europe

Greek Foreign Minister Previews Bessmertnykh Trip

PM0804132891 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Apr 91 Union Edition p 4

[TASS report on interview with Greek Foreign Minister A. Samaras by unnamed TASS correspondent in Athens: "Greek Foreign Minister on Prospects for Developing Relations With the USSR"]

[Text] Athens, 5 Apr—The great significance of USSR Foreign Minister A.A. Bessmertnykh's upcoming official visit to Athens, due to take place 9-11 April, which will be the first in the history of Greek-Soviet relations, was noted by Greek Foreign Minister A. Samaras. The visit, he stated in an interview with a TASS correspondent, opens a new era in bilateral relations.

The two countries, the minister said, are inseparably linked by their related cultural traditions and by bonds of friendship, which have constantly developed despite the different sociopolitical systems. And in the last 15 years the existence of two different philosophies has not hampered the strengthening of economic ties, reflected in the implementation of large-scale projects and mutually beneficial trade exchanges.

Today the foundations are being laid for even closer bilateral cooperation through the setting up of joint enterprises and increased exports of agricultural products and light-industry goods, A. Samaras noted. There is also fertile soil in the cultural sphere, where cooperation between Greece and the Soviet Union will have a beneficial effect on the spiritual development of renascent Eastern Europe and the Balkan peninsula.

The Greek side seeks the success of A. Bessmertnykh's talks in Athens. We hope for a detailed examination of views, and for a coincidence of views, on problems of peace and stability in the East Mediterranean, and also on regional problems, the Greek foreign minister stressed in conclusion.

Belgian Vice Prime Minister Visits Moscow

Discussses Perestroyka With Nishanov

PM0404121391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Mar 91 Union Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] The contemporary state of the processes of perestroyka and the distribution of political forces in the country were the topic of a conversation 28 March between R.N. Nishanov, chairman of the USSR

Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, and a Belgian governmental delegation headed by Vice Prime Minister P. Moureaux.

Holds Talks With Vice President

PM0404104591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Mar 91 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading "Exchange of Opinions"]

[Text] On 29 March USSR Vice President G.I. Yanayev received Belgian Vice Prime Minister P. Moureaux, who is on a working visit to the Soviet Union.

A frank exchange of opinions was held on questions of Soviet-Belgian relations, the all-European process, and the international situation.

T. de Gruben, Belgian ambassador to the USSR, also attended the meeting.

Assesses Visit

LD2903214291 Moscow TASS in English 2009 GMT 29 Mar 91

[By TASS correspondent Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow March 29 TASS—Problems of interethnic relations, economic and organisational transformations in the Soviet Union were the main subject of talks held in Moscow by Deputy Prime Minister of Belgium Philippe Moureaux. He spoke about it at a press conference here today, which was held immediately after his meeting with Soviet Vice President Gennadiy Yanayev.

Philippe Moureaux is visiting Moscow at the invitation of Boris Rogatin, member of the Soviet parliament and chairman of the Trade Union Sports Society. A programme of his visit includes numerous meetings with representatives of political leadership of the Soviet Union and the Russian Federation. It is not surprising, because Moureaux, in addition to being deputy prime minister, holds the posts of Minister for the Affairs of the Brussels Region and Minister for the Reforms of Institutions, and is directly connected with political problems of the decentralisation of the Belgian state.

The Belgian deputy prime minister called attention to the openness of the conversations held in Moscow. He believes that this is typical of quickly changing Soviet society, in which various forms of pluralism are taking root and beginning to find their expression. He described the creation of the USSR Security Council as one of the most important elements, which is to play a rather important role in the organisational structure of the Soviet Union and "the establishment of the presidential regime."

Moureaux believes that the "acceleration of economic processes" is taking place in this country. "Of course, the country is not developing in accordance with the Shatalin plan or the 500-days programme, but concrete ways of the transition to the market-based system have been clearly outlined," he said.

Tomorrow Moureaux will leave Moscow for Kiev.

Nishanov Meets With Bavarian Interior Minister

PM0804080391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Apr 91 Union Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] The prospects for cooperation between the USSR and the FRG in the light of the recent ratification of the Soviet-German treaties by the country's parliament were the center of attention at a 4 April meeting between R.N. Nishanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, and Bavarian Interior Minister E. Stoiber, who is in Moscow.

The package of Soviet-German documents, R.N. Nishanov emphasized, opens up new opportunities for the development of bilateral ties in the humanitarian, trade, economic, scientific, and technical spheres.

At the guest's request the leader of a chamber of the country's highest legislative organ dwelt in detail on questions of the economic reform in the country, problems of interethnic relations, the results of the referendum on the preservation of the USSR, and the progress of work on the Union Treaty.

K. Blech, FRG ambassador to the USSR, also participated in the meeting.

Ivashko, German Communists Hold Talks

LD0604085291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1645 GMT 5 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow, 5 Apr (TASS) - Vladimir Ivashko, deputy general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has met Rolf-Juergen Priemer and Heinz Stehr, co-chairmen of the German Communist Party [DKP], for talks.

At the request of the German comrades, V. Ivashko spoke about the situation in the Soviet Union and the CPSU's position on fundamental problems of the reforms taking place in the country. It was stressed that the party resolutely advocates further democratization, implementation of political and economic reforms, adoption of vigorous measures to end the crisis, and an improvement in the quality of life.

The DKP leaders spoke about preparations for the next congress of the German Communists.

There was an exchange of views on the development of the situation in the European region and the tasks of left-wing parties and forces in defending democracy,

social justice, and the interests of working people. Certain matters of interparty cooperation between the CPSU and the DKP were discussed.

Nordic Attitude on Baltic Events Viewed

91UF0599A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Apr 91 Second Edition p 6

[Report by correspondent Yuriy Kuznetsov: "Sober Judgment for Political Figures: Events in the Baltics and the Posture of the Scandinavian States"]

[Text] Helsinki—*Recent events in the Baltic republics have naturally evoked interest abroad, especially in their neighboring countries.*

There has been a constant increase in their striving over the course of recent months to know more about what in fact is happening in Tallinn, Riga, and Vilnius. As the Swedish newspaper DAGENS NYHETER reported at the beginning of this year, "the governments of all the Nordic countries, in spite of differences in their approaches to the Baltic question, were able nonetheless to agree on taking one specific action in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania—namely to establish information centers of the Nordic countries in the Baltic capitals..."

Generally speaking, the same newspaper asserted, the presence of the Nordic countries in the Baltic has long been a sore subject with us, particularly in the Nordic Council. At a session in Reykjavik, the newspaper reports, "they really went at it—on whether to open offices of the Nordic countries in the Baltic." And B. Goransson, Sweden's minister of education and culture, they say, then introduced a compromise which is presently being implemented: the establishment of cultural and information centers directly subsidized by the governments—this with the aim, however, of avoiding the appearance of Nordic country representatives as diplomats.

The presence of Scandinavians in the Baltic became a special concern in subsequent months, in Copenhagen, for example. There they were assessing, and continue to assess, the Baltic situation, proceeding at times from clearly one-sided opinions and sympathies. And the thought also creeps in: Is it not according to those same views that now, when the Soviet Union is going through difficult times, they could supposedly not only conduct themselves more "aggressively" with respect to them but might even interfere in their internal affairs?

How else are we to assess such—to put it bluntly—unfriendly acts as attempts to "push" the process of the growth of self- consciousness and self-determination of the Balts without taking into account the historically developed ramified ties of the three republics within the framework of the Soviet Union? Denmark, as we know, was among the countries signing the Helsinki Final Act in 1975 which obligates all participants in the common European process to respect one another's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Incidentally, it never entered anyone's mind in Copenhagen at that time to detach any portions of the USSR or apply different standards to them.

Representatives of Sweden's right are also actively advocating interference in Baltic problem areas. K. Bildt, their leader, agreed for example with a statement that following the Helsinki agreements of 1975, there allegedly does not exist such a concept as internal affairs. Officials whose statements express Swedish state policy (including Prime Minister Carlsson), however, though for a period of time advocating support of the independence of the three Baltic republics, nonetheless have manifestly tried to maintain—and it should be said continue to maintain to this day—a more sober judgment.

In their approach to the Baltic question, official representatives of the Nordic countries have repeatedly expressed and continue to express support for its settlement through negotiations between the Baltic republics and Moscow.

This, it would seem, is a fairly sound and realistic position which should prevail. All the same, the Baltic question is perceived today by the population and in official circles of the Nordic countries far from unambiguously. A few days ago, for example, authorities in Copenhagen rejected a Soviet protest regarding the signing of protocols on cooperation with the Baltic...

On the other hand, over this same period Denmark refused to grant asylum to three Estonians who had left their country to avoid service in the Soviet Army. There is an abundance of such contradictions, judgment differences, and misunderstandings.

On the broader scope of things it is necessary to note that there exists in the Scandinavian countries, and it is expressed in government and parliamentary circles, an interest in preserving good-neighbor relations with the Soviet Union.

Supreme Soviet

8 April Session Debates Youth Policy

LD0804180291 Moscow TASS in English 1721 GMT 8 Apr 91

[By TASS legislative correspondents Ivan Ivanov and Vladimir Isachenkov]

[Text] Moscow April 8 TASS—The joint sitting of the Soviet parliament devoted virtually the entire workday to the adoption in the second reading of a bill on general principles of state youth policy.

However, the document was not fully approved due to the ambiguous wording of some "articles, especially financial aspects of state social guarantees. Legislators decided to relegate the draft to parliamentary committees for improvement in the next few days.

The draft law defines legal, social, economic and organisational principles of state policy towards young people in the conditions of a market economy, as well as state guarantees in implementing the rights of young citizens and their organisations.

Under the bill, the state youth policy in the USSR is based on the "direct involvement of youth in forming and implementing their policy and programmes. This policy is also based on the legal and social protection of young people.

The state guarantees young men and women social services in education, upbringing, spiritual and physical development and vocational training.

At the afternoon session, deputies also examined a draft decision on urgent measures to eradicate the propaganda of pornography, violence and brutality.

Addressing the session, Soviet Minister of Culture Nikolay Gubenko explained the need for such a decision by a sharp increase in the circulation of cine and video cassettes and shady publications, which have a negative influence on the morality of young people and offend national and religious feelings of Soviet peoples.

Pressed by time, deputies decided to pass the decision tomorrow, April 9.

Ministers Approved at Session

LD0804150391 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1400 GMT 8 Apr 91

[Excerpts] A bill on the general principles of the USSR state youth policy has been under debate since early morning. [passage omitted]

An hour ago, after a break, the candidacies of three ministers proposed by the country's president were approved by the Supreme Soviet: Igor Nikolayevich Denisov for minister of health; Salambek Naibovich Khajiyev for minister of chemical and oil processing industry; and Oleg Georgiyevich Anfimov for minister of electrical equipment industry and instrument making. [passage omitted]

Deputy on Russian Congress, Union Treaty

LD0804152391 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 8 Apr 91

[Statement by USSR People's Deputy Aleksey Levashov; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] In Holy Week, during the work of the Russian Congress, the Interregional Deputies Group of the Supreme Soviet gathered and we tried to work out, talk through, and provide an analysis of the possible alternatives of future [political] development. We proceeded from the premise—and the course of the congress gave us grounds for discussing this—that the Russian state structure could find itself in a stalemate situation; where it would make no cardinal decisions at all in future. Then what would await us up ahead, at the Union level? We decided that in circumstances where the president has bound himself to the Union treaty, and the fate of the Union treaty is more than vague, where it is impossible for any side to win on the field of the Union treaty and one cannot count on it being concluded in the very near future, then the Union structures—party and state—that are fed and receive salaries in the Kremlin conclude that there can be no victory on the field of the Union treaty and will be forced—let me stress, forced—to remove the president as the bearer of the idea of concluding the Union treaty and as person who imposed the Union treaty on the state structure of the Union.

From this, the Interregional Deputies Group of the Supreme Soviet put forward in initiative to enter talks with the president to provide a capable - above all economically capable—government at Union level that could try to promote the tackling of all the troubles and problems that concern us. Naturally, it would be closely tied to the governments of the republics. In other words, in practice, we proposed implementing the idea of a government of popular trust, quite popular at present.

But two days later, on 5 April, Yeltsin had an overwhelming victory, as people are now saying, at the congress; and the situation now is such that after 12 June the process of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic gaining sovereignty may begin to speed up. As before, we support the idea of a government of national trust, and we will, evidently, approach the president in order to hold talks; but at the moment we have rigid restrictions. If our terms are not accepted, then after 12 June there will be no way left other than to strengthen the actual sovereignty of Russia right up to the ending of existing Union relations.

Soyuz Group Deputies To Meet 9, 20-21 April

LD0804180191 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1630 GMT 8 Apr 91

[Address by USSR People's Deputy Blokhin to the USSR Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin on 8 April; from the "Legislative Diary" program—recorded]

[Text] Today, the presidium of the Soyuz group of deputies met with President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev regarding the issue of the need to convene an extraordinary congress. The Presidium of the Soyuz group of deputies asks members of the Soyuz group of deputies to gather here tomorrow in the building of the USSR Supreme Soviet for a meeting to discuss this issue.

Yet another thing... [voices in the audience: "At what time?"] After tomorrow's evening sitting of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The second thing: In accordance with the decision of the Soyuz all-Union association of people's deputies of all levels, the second congress of Soyuz people's deputies of all levels will be held 20-21 April.

Political & Social

Gorbachev Presents Anti-Crisis Program

LD0904102191 Moscow TASS in English 1012 GMT 9 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Boris Shestakov]

[Text] Moscow April 9 TASS— President Mikhail Gorbachev, battling to tackle mounting problems, presented a new anti-crisis programme to republican leaders in the Kremlin today.

The situation in the country is "alarming", Gorbachev told the Federation Council, comprising republican and government leaders from Soviet republics.

The council held its fifth meeting to discuss the results of the March 17 nation-wide referendum on the future of the Union and economic issues.

Participants in the meeting told TASS before it began that they would press for the implementation of referendum results in order to transform the Soviet Union into a "renewed federation of equal sovereign republics".

The Soviet federation can be kept together only if constituent republics fulfill their economic contracts, they said.

"Failure to meet economic obligations was disrupting the market, worsening living standards and aggravating social tensions [no closing quotation marks as received] they said.

The results of the council's meeting are expected to be avaiilable later today.

Lukyanov Praises Program

LD0904122791 Moscow TASS in English 1219 GMT 9 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow April 9 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev, battling to tackle mounting problems, presented a new anti-crisis programme to republican leaders in the Kremlin today.

The situation in the country is "alarming", Gorbachev told the Federation Council, comprising republican and government leaders from Soviet republics. Speaking later in the federal legislature, parliament speaker Anatoliy Lukyanov described Gorbachev's presentation as energetic and meeting the requirements of the times. He said the president's package is to be submitted to parliament in about a week's time. Lukyanov said that in addition to the blueprint, the council discussed the results of the March 17 referendum on the future of the Soviet Union and reviewed the progress of drafting work on a new Union treaty. He added that after the treaty is completed, work will begin on a new constitution, which "will be adopted at the National Congress of People's Deputies and will then apparently be submitted to a popular vote".

TASS Views Calls for Gorbachev Resignation

LD0804200191 Moscow TASS in English 1944 GMT 8 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Kolesnikov]

[Text] Moscow April 8 TASS—Calls for President Gorbachev to resign are no longer a novelty. They can be heard at mass rallies and on television. However, these calls are prompted by widely differing motives. What is most important is that none of those calling for the resignation has a clear idea what the move may entail.

The call for Gorbachev to step down was first heard at the Congress of Soviet People's Deputies late last year. It was voiced by Sazhi Umalatova, who represented Communist Party deputies to the congress. She demanded a tougher line under conditions of economic uncertainty.

Charging Gorbachev with "inconsistency" and "lack of resolution", the communist hardliners were the first to call for the president to resign, the call that was then echoed by representatives of the other end of the political spectrum.

The call was chanted by participants in numerous rallies organised by "democratic forces". They link Gorbachev's resignation with a revision of strategy and the renunciation of socialist principles in the economy. Their demands reflect the rejection by a section of society of the Communist Party policy which, people believe, has caused the shift to the right in the president's activity.

This reaffirms once again the old saying that the extremes meet. Radicalism can turn into extremism, no

matter what colours it assumes, and inevitably demands sacrifices. The political centre is usually victimized by extremists.

Defending the political centrist line in his recent speeches, Mikhail Gorbachev noted the necessity and complexity of pursuing such a line. It is this complexity of keeping equilibrium under conditions of instability and continuing reform against the backdrop of disintegrating economic links that is the objective basis of the difficulties faced by the president.

The essence of his policy today lies in the sober vision of opportunities and their gradual realization and not in the shift to the right or the renunciation of reforms.

This is exactly what does not suit those who want "everything at once". Their desires are as understandable as they are groundless. It is difficult to expect an immediate improvement of the economic situation and generous hand-outs from the overstrained budget. Economists in the Soviet Union and Western analysts who closely follow the development of the situation in the country, warn against abrupt measures that are fraught with social unrest. That this is so is borne out by the reaction to the recent price hikes, despite the fact that the government sought to offset these effects, even in defiance of economic logic. The political center cannot permit itself to ignore these circumstances. Nevertheless, natural political circumspection is regarded by many as reluctance to move ahead along the road of reform.

The striking miners' political demands are a kind of symbiosis of conservative and reformist ideas. Calling on the president to resign, the strike leaders voice accusations strikingly similar to those reiterated by the hardliners. On the other hand, they are not averse to arguments prompted by the democratic camp advisers. With all that, they clearly overlook the fact that the liquidation of the single federal leadership and its replacement by a council of republican presidents will spell out the final disintegration of economic links and put off the realization of the miners' economic demands indefinitely.

The situation in the Soviet Union is in the focus of discussion in many countries. All kinds of forecasts about the fate of the Soviet president have lately been made not only by journalists and professional analysts, but also by some high-ranking politicians, including U.S. Defence Secretary Dick Cheney.

However, greater instability in the Soviet Union can hardly facilitate the improvement of the world climate. And conversely, the consolidation of the centrist principles in the government of the country and the strengthening of Gorbachev's position as the initiator of reforms is a guarantor of the civilized development of international relations. Unfortunately, supporters of "abrupt changes" are active in this sphere as well, which manifests itself in the hasty search for new partners, the open departure from the rules of bon ton in interstate relations and tougher rhetoric in international communications.

As regards calls for the president to resign, no form of pressure and power tactics is applicable here. Society has legal, constitutional mechanisms to replace leaders. Mikhail Gorbachev spoke about his commitment to constitutional ways of solving political problems during his meeting with striking miners.

It is clear to every sensible person that a constructive alternative is the minimum condition for raising the problem. Recent political discussion have shown that so far no one has a serious alternative to offer.

Pugo on Transport System Thefts, Profiteering

LD0504155691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 4 Apr 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] They used to steal things in the transport system, and they still do. A joint session of the collegium of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and Ministry of Railways was held in Moscow today on the issue of theft in the transport system. Our correspondent met Boris Karlovich Pugo, minister of internal affairs.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent V. Bakarinov] The joint session of the collegiums of the two ministries on such an important issue as theft in the transport system is, I think, of immense significance for our country, since the scale of things means that we cannot fill up the warehouses or the market without the railways.

[Pugo] Over the past year, thefts have increased by 80 percent, while particularly large thefts have trebled. Reports are coming in from literally everywhere in the country. The pillaging of trains is going on, in the literal sense of the word. First and foremost, this applies to goods from light industy—footwear, textiles—and very much damage is being inflicted during transportation of agricultural machinery and motor vehicles. This has reached a very large scale, and we are simply alarmed by the fact that we can see elements of organized crime in this affair.

[Bakarinov] Of course, such pillaging of trains can only lead to the state shop shelves remaining empty while the black market flourishes.

[Pugo] The opinion has been expressed that perhaps we should, in connection with this, resort to emergency measures. I think that this is not far from the truth, because measures have to be adopted, and they have to be adopted urgently, very decisive ones.

[Bakarinov] Even before they went up, before the introduction of the new prices, the internal affairs bodies detained masses of people who were buying goods from the state and reselling them on the black market. In connection with the raised prices, how are things, will such a tendency disappear, or will it, on the contrary, intensify?

[Pugo] On day one, 2 April, we sent more than 1,000 OBKhSS [Department for Combatting the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation] fraud squad staff to Moscow warehouses and shops, both from the ministry and from the city administration, from rayon administrations. And one must say that this step was quite justified. They say that by the end of the evening, more goods began to be evident. That is, they started checking more quickly, the revaluation got going more quickly, and at the same time, I think that a number of staff who had hidden goods away here and there in the hope of selling them at higher prices, at speculative prices, were forced to put them into the shops. So such a step was fully justified, and I think that we should continue to do everything we can in order to combat profiteering very energetically. I think, i am sure of this, that the people will understand us completely and support us in this context. [end recording]

20 Percent Increase in Crime Reported

LD0604095291

[Editorial Report] Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian at 1407 GMT on 5 April broadcasts a 5-minute report on a briefing for Soviet and foreign correspondents held today at the USSR Justice Ministry. Those attending were informed about the country's crime statistics for last year. Correspondent Anatoliy Fedorov gives the following figures:

"Last year was a record year for crime, with nearly 3 million crimes recorded and 809,000 people convicted. This was 20 percent more than in 1989.

"For wilful murder, 15,918 people were convicted; for theft of personal property, 147,000, and for hooliganism only 71,600. Convictions of minors rose by almost 30 percent: 111,000,665 adolescents received punishment of some kind. The various courts acquitted 5,064 people.

"There were 41.5 thousand lawsuits by persons seeking reinstatement at work, half of which were successful. Victims of illegal dismissal received compensation of more than 6 million rubles, of which the guilty officials had to pay just five percent."

Fedorov asks USSR Justice Minister Sergey Gennadiyevich Lushchikov whether anyone has been convicted of putting pressure on a judge. Lushchikov says that last year judges in many regions were subjected to obstruction. "Judicial appointments were made dependent on the outcome of particular cases", he adds. But only 19 people were convicted last year of contempt of court. The law of this is good, but is not being effectively applied. Many officials are guilty of illegally withholding residence permits, Lushchikov says.

The laws against speculation, private business activities, currency operations and the like, which are still on the statute book, need to be reviewed, says the minister, but by the republican rather than the union structures. The corrective labour system often maims rather than tames, as the huge incidence of recidivism shows, he adds.

Fedorov says that in all, there were 445 death sentences last year. Twenty nine of them were commuted, and there were 119 executions.

Committee Suspends Some Military Regulations

LD0504143391 Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 5 Apr 91

[Text] The Constitutional Supervision Committee of the USSR has suspended some of the articles of the Military Service Regulations. They provided for implementing the policy of not only the government but also of the Communist Party. The committee found this to be in violation of the USSR Constitution.

Poll Reveals Attitudes on Land Ownership

PM0804092691 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Apr 91 Union Edition p 4

[R. Volkova, N. Popov report under the rubric "Public Opinion: Poll and Sociologist's Commentary": "How Much Land Should One Person Own?"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] At the end of February the All-Union Center for the Study of Public Opinion carried out a study on questions relating to private ownership of land. Some 2,260 inhabitants of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] from Petrozavodsk to the Far East, selected on a representative basis to represent all strata of the population, both city and country dwellers, were polled.

The poll showed that, in the opinion of the majority of those polled—57 percent—the decisions of the recent Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies on permitting private ownership of land are in the people's interests, and only 19 percent disagree. The question of the terms on which land should be handed over into private ownership is of considerable importance to Russia's inhabitants. Thus, for instance, in answer to a question on a referendum about private ownership of land (if such a referendum were to be held), 40 percent of those polled would vote in favor of priave ownership of land granted without any restrictions, and a rather larger number of people—52 percent—are also "in favor," but with certain restrictions.

In general, when it comes to restrictions, two points are at issue: How much land could be handed over to private ownership, and how the question of buying and selling land should be resolved. Here 34 percent came out against any restrictions on quantities, 10 percent believed that plots should be no larger than 50 hectares, 9 percent believed that they should not be more than 15 hectares, and 15 percent felt it necessary to restrict plots to half a hectare. Only 13 percent entirely reject the

handover of land plots to private ownership. Thus two-thirds support the handover of large plots—more than 15 hectares—to private ownership.

Public opinion in Russia is also very favorably inclined toward allowing the buying and selling of land. But 39 percent came out in favor of the sale of land by private owners (after private ownership comes into force) only to the state; while 28 percent think it could be sold to anyone. In general, more than two-thirds of Russia's people support the buying and selling of land.

A similar poll carried out a year ago by the All-Union Center for the Study of Public Opinion showed that at that time only one-third of the population were in favor of allowing the buying and selling of land in any form.

The recognition that the land must be given to the people has already taken root among people. The question now is whether there are enough people wishing to take land in order to work on it.

TASS Reviews PRAVDA for 8 Apr

LD0804063991 Moscow TASS in English 0633 GMT 8 Apr 91

["Soviet PRAVDA Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow April 8 TASS—Today's PRAVDA carries President Mikhail Gorbachev's greetings to the Soviet Charity and Health Fund, which launched a nation-wide charity week beginning from today.

On its front page, PRAVDA carries a comment by Aleksey Klimenko who blasts hasty efforts to disband collective and state farms.

PRAVDA interviews several Russian lawmakers, who comment on the results of the emergency Congress of People's Deputies which ended in Moscow on Friday.

Constant bickering between rival factions at the Congress left little time for a debate on economic problems, deputies said.

The newspaper carries a four-page special issue devoted to the 30th anniversary of the world's first manned space flight.

It publishes reminiscences by former cosmonauts' training centre chief retired General Nikolay Kamanin and Cosmonaut Yuriy Gagarin's letter home, written before he was launched into space.

PRAVDA carries reports from Soviet coalfields where miners continue to strike.

In Donbass, "A new wave of calls to expand the strike" and fight to "the victorious end" swept a meeting of strike committees' representatives in the area. Miners' representatives who returned from talks with the government in Moscow said that the Kremlin met only demands concerning pensions. Other government proposals are unacceptable, they said.

New price hikes whipped up striking sentiments in Kuzbass, the newspaper reports.

It carries a report from Rostov-on-the-Don, commenting on last November's Congress of Cossacks. The congress elected writer Mikhail Sholokhov's son Mikhail Sholokhov Ataman (leader) of the Cossacks. The article blasted "extremist sentiments" at the meeting.

It also publishes a press release by the KGB Public Relations Centre, denying allegations in the Bulgarian press that the KGB and the Bulgarian Secret Service activities harmed Bulgaria's national interests.

The KGB and the Bulgarian Interior Ministry cooperated on the "principles of equality, respect for state sovereignty and noninterference in each other's internal affairs," the statement says.

TASS Reviews Soviet Central Press for 9 Apr

LD0904064491 Moscow TASS in English 0626 GMT 9 Apr 91

["Soviet Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow April 9 TASS—Today's newspapers publish President Mikhail Gorbachev's decree "On Urgent Measures in Agriculture".

The decree was issued in order to provide practical help to farmers because of "exceptional tensions in the agrarian sector".

On Monday, the Soviet parliament discussed the second reading of a bill on state youth policy, newspapers report. The legislature sent the bill for improvement to parliamentary committees.

The bill sets legal, social and economic rights for young people and their organisations.

In the afternoon, the parliament discussed a draft resolution on urgent measures to end the propaganda of pornography, violence and cruelty. Soviet Culture Minister Nikolay Gubenko said the bill was necessary because the country was being flooded with films and publications which have a very negative effect on young people's morals and insult ethnic and religious beliefs of Soviet people. The parliament is expected to pass the resolution today.

PRAVDA and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA continue to comment on the results of the recent Russian Federation extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow. PRAVDA analyst Viktor Shirokov writes about a standoff at the congress when lawmakers "were on the brink of a fatal and irreversible split, but finally reached a compromise".

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA carries interviews with several participants in the Russian Congress of People's Deputies.

Newspapers report about the situation in Soviet coal fields following talks between miners' representatives and the Gorbachev government.

Several mines have ended their strike, PRAVDA reports. However, about half of the collieries in the Kuzbass coal basin are still striking, according to SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, TRUD and KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA.

Miners in the south Urals are also continuing their strike. All pits in Inta in the Komi Republic resumed work and most miners returned to their jobs in Donbass.

PRAVDA devotes several pages to renewal in the Soviet Communist Party and relations between the party and local councils.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA carries an interview with Secretary of the Army Party Committee Major General Mikhail Surkov, who speaks about the results of the first Army party conference, which ended recently in Moscow.

PRAVDA publishes Mikhail Gorbachev's greetings to participants in the "Towards Stars-91" international art exhibition.

In the run up to the 30th anniversary of the first manned space flight, PRAVDA carries an interview with Japanese Cosmonaut Toyehiro Akiyama, who took part in a joint Soviet-Japanese mission aboard the TM-11 spacecraft in 1990.

Akiyama praised the international importance of Yuriy Gagarin's flight, saying it was a triumph of Soviet science and technology.

Analyst Vsevolod Ovchinnikov analyses the likely international impact of Mikhail Gorbachev's forthcoming visit to Japan.

Improved Soviet-Japanese relations would have a positive impact on the situation in the Asia-Pacific regions, he writes.

"In order to overcome mistrust and offences inherited from the past both the Japanese and we should renounce biased approaches and concentrate on mutual interests, primarily on peace, stability and cooperation in the Far East. Japan is interested in perestroika's success. For Japan, a crisis in the major nuclear power is like a fire in a neighbouring house, and if reforms succeed, the Soviet Union could become a reliable and profitable partner," he writes.

PRAVDA carries an interview with Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart, who recently visited the Soviet Union.

Newspapers report developments in Iraq and publish a Soviet Foreign Ministry statement expressing concern for the fate of Kurdish rebels.

Economic

Kuzbass, Donbass Mines Remain on Strike

LD0804171191 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1400 GMT 8 Apr 91

[Text] The situation in the country's coal mining regions remains complex. According to reports, 18 mines are on strike in Donbass and 47 in Kuzbass. The leaders of the Independent Trade Union of Russia's Miners have declared that the authorities' concessions do not satisfy them and the strikes will continue.

A TASS correspondent has reported that an appeal for coal was made to the miners today by the metallurgists of the Chelyabinsk Combine. Because of a prolonged absence of fuel deliveries, the enterprise has stopped producing coke. Four out of its five blast furnaces, a converter plant, and rolling mills have been shut down. Orders from more than 5000 enterprises are being suspended. The production of metal for motor and aviation works and building projects, as well as steel for chain conveyors for coal cutter-loaders has been halted.

Strikers Reaffirm Political Basis of Demands

PM0804191591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Apr 91 Union Edition p 2

["Direct Line" feature comprising Viktor Kostyukovskiy report from Kemerovo and Nikolay Lisovenko report from Donetsk: "Miners' Strikes"]

[Text] Kemerovo—On Monday [8 April] over 90 Kuzbass enterprises, including 64 mines, six open-cut mines, three enriching factories, and four motor vehicle enterprises, were continuing the political strike in one form or another.

The Council of Strike Committees rejects the story that appeared the other day in a central newspaper that the new strike wave is associated with the increase in prices.

"As far as we know, that has not been the motive in a single city strike committee," Council Chairman Vyacheslav Golikov said. "The spread of the strike was caused primarily by the results of the talks with the 'miners' representatives,' whom the collectives had not empowered to hold such talks with the country's government or president. The government's economic concessions are not what we are demanding and trying to achieve. Our demands are political, and they remain unchanged."

Donetsk—The collectives of eight enterprises out of the 21 mines and mine administrations at the "Donetskugol" Production Association did not turn up for work Monday morning [8 April].

Two of the "Selidovugol" Association's mines, several "Makeyevugol" mines, and all the "Krasnoarmeyskugol" and "Pervomayskugol" mines remain idle. The appeals to stop the strike made to the miners by oblast

soviet deputies, agricultural workers, and railroad workers did not have any effect.

In Donetsk and Lugansk Oblasts a total of 19 mines and mine administrations are not working at all and 11 are partly working. At coal industry enterprises rallies are being held and conditions, including political conditions, are being put forward.

Pechora Area Coal Deliveries Improve

LD0804221891 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2054 GMT 8 Apr 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Excerpts] The situation in the country's coalfields remains troubled. [passage omitted]. In the Pechora basin the situation has started to change. Deliveries of coal have in the past 24 hours grown by 100 percent and are approaching plan level. [passage omitted] Four of the ten collieries of the south Urals are on strike. The main demands are now political.

Vorkuta Railroad Workers Appeal to Strikers

LD0904083491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0720 GMT 9 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow, 9 Apr (TASS)—Strikes by miners in a number of coal-mining regions of the USSR are continuing despite the fact that the Union leadership has satisfied the miners' chief economic demands, while not considering their political demands, which include the resignation of the USSR president, the dissolution of the Union legislature, and a number of others.

According to a report from Kemerovo (western Siberia), the situation in the Kuzbass today still remains tense. As before, virtually every other coal-mining enterprise is not working. To judge from information coming in from workers' committees, there is no sign of an improvement of the situation in the near future. In Prokopyevsk, for example, it has been stated that the miners do not want hand-outs from Moscow and that their political demands stand. The Mezhdurechensk workers' committee has appealed to the citizens of Russia and of the country for support in connection with the fact that the government has forgotten to increase the price of the main commodity—the workforce. Clothing, food, and money have been sent to the strikers from Georgia, Armenia, and Irkutsk Oblast.

According to reports from Donetsk, the strike at some of the mines in Donetsk Oblast (the Ukraine) is continuing. Having voiced their disagreement with the decisions adopted at the meeting between the government and miners in Moscow, the strike committees of Donetsk, Krasnoarmeysk, Makeyevka, and Selidovo have instructed their collectives not to resume work.

Today, 19 of the oblast's 122 coal-mining enterprises are not extracting coal. According to reports available at the republic's coal industry workers' trade union council, miners at seven enterprises in Pervomaysk and four in Pavlodar are also not working. Thus, without counting mines of the "Ukrzapadugol" association, where today has been declared a holiday in connection with the Easter celebrations, less than one eighth of all coal-mining enterprises of the Ukraine are taking part in the strike.

A TASS corespondent has reported from Vorkuta (Komi Soviet Socialist Republic) that railroad workers at "Vorkuta" station on the northern railroad line today anounced an ultimatum on the continuing miners' strike.

At a meeting held in the collective, an appeal to the striking miners of Vorkuta was passed. It states that the railway workers support the miners' economic and social demands, but they cannot be met at the expense of others. If there is no coal, railway workers get no pay. And no one is compensating them.

The appeal states: "We understand that the social problems of the miners are being solved at the expense of workers in other industries, including railroad workers. Therefore, we are forced categorically to demand that either you give us freight to transport or we will halt all types of transportation including that of passengers. And in a few days we will bring the "Vorkuta" station to a halt. We should not suffer as a result of anyone's political claims and unworthy fuss."

The appeal by railroad workers was delivered to collectives at mines and other enterprises in Vorkuta today.

PRAVDA on Gorbachev Speech to Miners

PM0804161791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Apr 91 Second Edition pp 1,2

[TASS report: "We Can Only Overcome the Crisis Together—We Are In the Same Boat: M.S. Gorbachev's Speech at His Meeting With Representatives of the Country's Miners 3 April This Year"]

[Text] Voicing his opinion of the frank, businesslike discussion held in the Kremlin and the joint work carried out by representatives of mining collectives and the country's government, the USSR president said:

I think that two results of the meeting are now obvious. The first being that a considerable proportion of the comrades here—their mining collectives' plenipotentiary representatives—accomplished tremendous work with the government and made progress in resolving those questions that can be resolved within the specific conditions of the current socioeconomic situation. The fact that your questions and demands are—I am convinced—at least 90- or 80-percent justified is another matter, but there are certainly limits to what the government can do in this situation. Whoever you put in government, even if you join it yourselves, you will still have to do the same thing because the economy has its limits. After all, a balloon bursts if overinflated.

So, there are limits. In this connection I welcome above all the constructive work done here; it is of economic and social, but also political significance. Because miners are continuing their contacts with the government—a difficult and hard, but essential process. It cannot be helped, both sides have to hear reproaches and find solutions. This first result is very important.

The second result is particularly manifested in my presence at the meeting. There is a group of people here who have continued to pursue a political task, both before and at the meeting. That is their business. That is ultimately what democracy allows. But, as on Manezhnaya Square, some people are trying harder to be conspicuous than to speak to the point. Miners must see that there are now people who specialize in this. It's a long time since these people have visited a mine, but they have already mastered this business. They can even speak without notes, but they are even more capable when furnished with a script prepared by certain circles.

Let me first answer the question of my resignation. I must first thank you for the arguments that display a touching concern that I should go down in history as a great reformer. I thank you for not forgetting that at least. That is something, so to speak.

As for the theoretical question of the president's resignation, that, like the introduction of the presidency, has been decided by constitutional means; there are no violations here and it is inappropriate to allude to the legal aspect of this. Such allusions only attest to political demagoguery specially calculated to provoke and stir things up, and—and this is the main thing—to try to somehow unsettle Gorbachev. This will not succeed. It will not work.

There is the constitutional path. Congresses of people's deputies convene regularly. At the previous congress Deputy Umalatova raised the question of no confidence in the president. There is, so to speak, nothing new in that. The congress voted and rejected this question, without even including it on the agenda. There is the constitutional path, and we have to take it.

You see before you a man who voluntarily gave up a system of authority whereby power was concentrated in the hands of the CPSU Central Committee general secretary, power which, moreover, was delegated to him not via general democratic elections or via constitutional forms, but via his election by 20 million people alone—and not even 20 million. No single world leader had more power than the CPSU Central Committee general secretary at that time. And if I set about restructuring all this, I too had to make up my mind to do this. You're all heroes now, particularly in relation to me. Where were you then?

So, we're in the same boat. It is my conscious choice—and I will come back to this—that society must be changed. We must move on to a new society where law, legal institutions, and constitutional order operate. Otherwise we will never extricate ourselves from this situation.

We have a legislative, an executive, and a judiciary. If all this really begins to work, a rule-of-law state will emerge to rigorously defend constitutional order and the only conditions and bases of life on which a normal society can stand. If there is another order, new appanage princes will emerge and we will have rule by telephone call once more—no constitution, but jungle law.

In exactly the same way, I want to say the following: I will not be put off my stride whatever stamping, whistling, or slogans are heard and whatever catcalls come in from the squares. There is a constitutional process, and legally elected, plenipotentiary people will decide who they want. That is the answer to your first question.

The second question which must be answered straightaway is this: Why did we not anticipate and avert this development of the perestroyka processes? Incidentally, many comrades raised this question here. I just do not understand why in the last two or three years you have not been figuring out—and you would even have had our backing and sympathy—how to obtain and really implement at mine and association level the right to autonomy and initiative in the coal industry. Do you need a ministry, and what kind; do you need an association? Half of you are demanding that the Ministry of the Coal Industry be wound up, while others, particularly the Kuzbass, which was visited by the vice president, said that if the Ministry of the Coal Industry is wound up the whole Kuzbass would strike...

I am not about to make any demands on you—this is a process of exploration. But you have, after all, failed in the last three years to resolve the question of what kind of economic management you need. Comrades tell me that when they suggested that the collective lease a mine, miners said: There's five years of work left here, then who will want us and our shares? That is, everything is not clear. It is necessary to look into things.

If you can't figure out what to do with a given mine so that miners, their families, and future miners don't get in a mess and end up the losers, tell us: How can we act any other way in a country with 300 million citizens, 120 peoples, and now more than 15 republics. Having initiated perestroyka and decided to renew this society, we are told must we solve everything and find answers to everything straight off.

Don't listen to the demagoguery and blather which says that we can obtain a simple answer today to the problems facing our country as a result of the processes that have reduced it to this state... That is absurd.

Quick answers are the most dangerous thing. They are the cheapest form of populism.

Next. When speaking about why we failed to anticipate a great deal and made mistakes—and that is the case—I

will not quote myself here. I received a letter today and with it an article by Doctor of Economic Sciences Ye.G. Yasin, who was a member of Shatalin's team and was involved in formulating the "500 Days" program. I know him personally and have cooperated fruitfully with him. He is now working as a member of the team producing the program to extricate us from the crisis situation. Nevertheless he is a member of Shatalin's team, to which many speakers here have alluded. Here is what he says: "If we take 1985 as a point of reference, the path we have traveled is by no means the optimum one. There could have been considerably fewer economic and social problems." That is what he says in response to the question of whether or not we could have anticipated things. I agree with this. He goes on to write that, if you consider all the real circumstances, including the readiness of various strata, yours included, for transformations, and the competence of the leadership—from here down to your mine level—the path that we traveled can be deemed the most likely one. Thinking about it, it was hard to expect anything else. The first two years were mainly spent on attempts to smash negative trends by old methods. That didn't work. Voices can sometimes be heard now saying that nothing should have been changed; the system had its flaws but it did work nonetheless. People somehow forget that it was working worse and worse, problems were literally piling on the pressure from all sides, and it had long since become clear that they could not be resolved within the framework of the system since they were innate defects. In mid-1987 the realization of the need for radical economic reform became apparent; however, this reform was only conceived in terms of broadening enterprises' autonomy, production democracy, and self-management and combining the plan and the market—that is, within the framework of an interim model without an in-depth transformation of ownership and the political system. In theory this kind of model is detrimental since it lacks integrity and is ineffective. Specialists see that. But it was, the author writes, essential for us in some sense as a shift of mentality, which was incapable of breaking away immediately from that to which we had grown accustomed.

Yasin said all of this. But I am ready to subscribe to it. There is "condemnation" of myself and criticism of everyone in this. But it's the truth! We are now making changes and implementing perestroyka in a real society where people have gotten accustomed to commands and oversimplified forms of economic organization, where wage leveling and padding prevail. This was and is the case, comrades. We have seen that nothing comes of it. Structures resist changes in economic life. Another economic milieu is needed, another economic space, along with a market infrastructure and other mechanisms.

What are we to do now? There are two views.

In the note that he sent me Comrade Yasin writes that there are two options. One option is once again, by stabilizing the economy and economic ties, pursuing a structural policy, particularly in fundamental sectors, and taking machine building in hand, to then move on from this, via an upsurge and scientific and technical progress, to achieve different results, different labor productivity, national income, and, of course, profits, wages, and everything else. That would seem to be logical. He says that this is V.S. Pavlov's opinion and that I, certainly, back him. But people are saying that we must now in fact choose a different path—embark on tougher measures, above all, tightening up all financial affairs. This means moving toward freeing and liberalizing prices to thus balance the market. This means go back to the budget again and cutting expenditure in all areas, and so on. All unprofitable enterprises, including kolkhozes and sovkhozes, must think about what they are to live on. This is painful and difficult, but people must be bluntly told. If people accept this, the path will be clear. But let me tell you that this would mean tens of millions of unemployed. People are saying that Gorbachev is afraid that he will not survive this. But my first thought is not whether Gorbachev will survive this, that is not the point; the point is the fate of tens of millions of people. Admittedly Ye.G. Yasin says that if we do not take this second path, this painful process will last a long time and will break the people; it will lead to chaos and then a dictatorship will emerge, which will once again revert to by no means economic but administrative methods. And this will disrupt the country for decades.

There is also, incidentally, the opinion that everything should be put back as it was and that we should revert to harsh commands. Including the introduction of presidential rule in the economy countrywide, in all sectors. That is the range of opinion.

We should examine and compare these opinions in a normal manner. Since this involves the fate of the country and all of us. But this is also mixed up with political struggle and claims to power. In this connection I must say—and don't take umbrage at this—that many people want to play the miners' card knowing that miners are resolute, organized people and knowing what coal means to the country. This has already happened: Metallurgy is declining and with it machine building and the economy as a whole. So, we have stoppages and idle time and, thus, no wages, profits, or payments into the budget. And so the country falls apart. And then we'll be right baqck where we, were—after all, the most brutal dictatorships always arise out of chaos. The Nazi regime also arose out of chaos, economic recession, and a 34-percent slump in production in Germany in 1932, because desperate people are prepared to accept any, even the most brutal dictatorship. There was an admixture of other ideas from "Mein Kampf" here, of course, but it all turned to tragedy both for the Germans and for all peoples.

Nonetheless, all the dangers and difficulties notwithstanding, I think that we have a chance of escaping from this situation. We do not want to change either our course or our general line of radical economic reform and reforming the Union, the political system, and creating a rule-of-law state.

All these avenues still remain. It is now essential and important to restrain the economy so that it does not disintegrate or slide into chaos, and proceed with the transformations. Thus, the program that we are compiling is a concrete practical action program. But we are not changing course. It is above all important not to allow economic ties to break down. This could happen and we have all contributed to it. The situation is very complex. Nevertheless there is a way out. In agriculture, all the difficulties notwithstanding, we are now doing everything we can to meet this sector's requirements as a priority despite our meager resources. Last, the third policy avenue is to continue improving finances and the consumer market, advance the processes of liberalizing our economic life and switching to new forms of economic activity, and progress toward a mixed economy.

We must do whatever we can because this is a long road. The idea that privatization can be carried out in the country within a year is just adventurism. Untried adventurism, because it is difficult to describe as anything else an attempt to privatize a country like this in a year or two. But this process must proceed. We must advance middling and small-scale business and the service sphere and advance the initiative of people on the land in order to ensure that above all there are more commodities. The commodity market is the most important thing today.

It is clear that all our plans can be torn up if fundamental sectors are destroyed. This may happen within three months or even within a month, bringing the country to its knees.

Thus, we should have a concrete program by 8 April. We are calling a sitting of the Cabinet of Ministers 12 April, with republic councils of ministers chairmen participating, to examine this program, so that it can be published in mid-April. It will contain a range of specific measures and people will be able to evaluate it for themselves. But I must be blunt and say that this program will be painful. You realize, comrades, that it cannot be painless. Everything has to be told as it is, and people must accept that. If anyone can prove that there is another more effective program or can suggest any additional, feasible measures, they will indisputably be incorporated. Everything that we can rapidly integrate now, everything that can improve the situation, should be incorporated in this anticrisis program. It will be drawn up for a year, as preparation for 1992, and will be drawn up literally as a quarter-by-quarter, and in some areas month-by-month, timetable.

In conclusion, a word about our mutual relations. We have been criticized for the fact that the government, under pressure from the miners, has accommodated them when everyone could present their own wage demands—everyone is in great need. I think you know that. Nevertheless I think that everything was done correctly at the time, 18 months ago. We could not fail to react to the tough demands made then. You know that I am opposed to extreme methods, but at the time I thought that we had to treat these demands from the miners very seriously.

That is still the position. If something—perhaps even a great deal—does not turn out right in our country, we will either be unable to work together or it will not in fact prove possible to meet your requests owing to a decline in production and metal and timber shortages. But this is not a deliberate policy, this is also the result of a tough, grave situation where we are experiencing an economic slump or even disorder in our national economy. That is why we said straightaway that we will examine all questions relating to the economy, production, and social matters and settle everything that should and can be settled to the extent of our capabilities.

But bear in mind that everyone is making requests—metallurgists, chemical workers, teachers, servicemen, the militia. This simply indicates that we must have different results in production and in accumulating national income in order to be able to develop this country. We have set out on this path and will do everything. I think that we must proceed along this path however difficult it may be.

If anyone thinks that some kind of foolish experiment is being staged to prove one's "ego," that is a misconception. It is either just incomprehension or in a number of cases malicious slander. Life itself has brought us to this stage in the development of our society, and there's no disputing that changes had to be made. So we initiated the changes, and you know how difficult this is proving for us.

Now we need most of all not to get involved in a fight. We must seek mutual understanding and advance, resolving the highly grave problems that face us.

Question from the hall: Under our monopolistic system how could prices be freed? After all, the 1965 reform showed that when prices rise production falls.

M.S. Gorbachev: I shall begin by answering written questions. "At the Central Committee Plenum on 16 March 1989, you said that before increasing prices you would submit this question to a broad discussion and Soviet people must be sure that such decisions will not be adopted without them. Prices were increased but with whom did you consult?" I think that I must be frank with you, miner-style. I believe that we erred to some extent having stated that we would consult on that question.

This of course does not mean that democratic norms should not be observed in the solution of those questions and that things should be decided as individuals see fit. But, comrades, no state acts the way we did in tackling the problem and embarking on a reform of our prices. Elsewhere it is considered an emergency if intentions become known 24 hours in advance, but we spent a whole year hawking our market; we caused such uproar, and such mafia structures appeared, that it will take us a

long time to sort things out. We consulted so much that now we have to get ourselves of out a jam.

And finally all the republics took part and signed agreements which were submitted to the Supreme Soviet, where representatives of all the working people sit. I do not know whether you still want everyone to put their signature to these prices and everything to be coordinated? This will never happen. What is there to say here? The most important thing is that in our country prices have not changed for over 30 years. I mean the basic commodities: cereals, meat, and milk. The result in our country is that we sell agricultural output worth 152 billion but give out subsidies worth 228 billion. Well, what kind of prices are those?! First, this is disrespect for the peasant's labor and, second, in some places prices rose quite unjustifiably.

In general, we created the kind of distorted price system which can only exist under an administrative system because it does not reflect any economic realities. Therefore, the most important thing today is to get out of this distorted price system. Thus originally, as you remember, N.I. Ryzhkov said in the report which he delivered in April that we would provide 55 percent or 60 percent compensation. Then we saw how painful the question was, what difficult progress it was making, and we decided that apart from delicacies and luxury items, where prices were increased last November, all the remaining revenue from increasing prices is to go into compensation. Because the most important thing today is not a gain in terms of money but to normalize the whole price system so as to progress more systematically and consciously from the new level of wholesale, purchase, and retail prices. It is impossible to progress normally on the basis of what used to exist here: Everything is upside down and reflects no realities. In this sense we are acting honestly: All the revenue will be channeled into compensation.

Question: Esteemed Mikhail Sergeyevich, you rightly noted that there are people whose faces are familiar, but in general the people here are ordinary miners.

Answer: Even those here who put this question so keenly, I would simply ask them to retain their independence and not succumb to the political passions which have spread in our country. The miners' cause and the miners themselves must not become a bargaining counter in political battles. That is dangerous for society. That could lead to a confrontation from which we may not recover. In this connection I say: Ask the questions which you think necessary, but do not forget that they are trying to exploit you.

The question of when the 5-percent sales tax will be lifted was asked from the hall.

It is necessary to normalize the economy; then much will be changed. The present tax is being used to form stabilization funds. How did they come about? The question was raised of freeing the miners, oil workers, and metallurgists from fixed prices. Then they themselves must establish prices for their output. Thus the idea of stabilization funds appeared. The Union budget receives 30 percent of the resources; 70 percent go into the republic and local budgets.

Many questions are phrased in trenchant, even harsh terms. That is the normal way of things, the president believes. The main thing is not to succumb to the political stresses which lead to confrontation. Any questions may be asked; that is what the meeting is for.

Question: Mikhail Sergeyevich, in 1985 you said that the administrative apparatus in our country numbered 18 million people. In two years the number of administrators rose to 19 million. When we will seriously set about reducing this inordinately inflated apparatus?

Answer: I have to say that to a considerable extent this is your question because out of 18 million administrators, 16 million are to be found in enterprises. Second, the process of reducing the state apparatus took place at all levels but then associations, which you created, began to appear here. But they have their own apparatus and so forth. I think that when the process of transferring functions from the center to the republics begins, and that will happen in connection with the new Union treaty, then gradually forms of organizing the economy will change, too. But matters are not that simple: For example, some ministries will no longer be needed, but other structures will appear. For example, we didn't have a commission for securities but one is needed. There was no Fund for State Property—one is appearing: There was no committee for the maintenance of medium and small business, now one is needed. Life moves on and new institutions appear. So let us examine the situation together.

One of the participants in the meeting believed that the miners' are compelled to make their demands. However, they were ready for compromise but the government's long silence led to today's situation. What is your view of that silence, he asked the USSR president.

Answer: I think that there has been some misunderstanding here. That we did not react even to the first manifestations of discontent, the demands of the miners, and the first mine stoppages—that I cannot accept. Everyone got involved in the problem at once. I immediately received deputies representing miners and examined the Kuzbass' problems. Of course, not everything has been decided yet but we will solve them without fail. What was there to talk about with those who demand the resignation of the president and the prime minister and the disbandment of the USSR Supreme Soviet? That is a different matter. As for businesslike discussion, I repeat that it began on time and we were ready to conduct it immediately, we met with miners. The fact that this discussion became bogged down in major political passions is indeed true. If some misunderstanding has

occurred and you think that there has been some disrespect toward miners on our part. I very much regret that. I would not like this to stay on your minds.

Question: Can you give at least some tentative timetable for the stabilization of the economy and the improvement of working people's lives?

Answer: I think that if we adopt a stabilization program and ensure its fulfillment by all republics and sectors we will be able to launch constructive processes this very year. And they will take place everywhere, including in the market.

In the space of two years we have to enter a more or less normal market.

Thus it will take both this year and next year but on condition, comrades, that we do everything we have planned.

The chairman of the Vorkuta miners asked a question—does the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee believe in the building of communism. If so, what timetable does he envisage: within 100 years or 200 years? That kind of society will this be?

I am a party member from conviction, M.S. Gorbachev answered. I have retained my faith in and devotion to the socialist idea. Who changes his convictions after 60 years? I am not one of those people, I remain a man of conviction, devoted to the socialist idea. But I respect a different, honest choice, different political positions.

Yes, what has happened to us since the revolution is bound to move everyone. Lessons should be learned from history. But learning lessons does not mean trampling on your own history or the graves of those who died for the fatherland. Do not tar everything with the same brush. Our history is complex and dramatic. Yes, we are now facing a historical deadline, but we must emerge from this difficult stage in history. However, I myself conceive the way out not on the basis of repudiating the socialist idea but its consistent implementation and enrichment. Do not let yourselves be deceived again.

Some people say: There is no formula, no program, no concept for that way out. And this is repeated among the working class. However, was it not dogma and moribund concepts which drove us into that enforced collectivization, into something of a dead end. But there are values within the framework of the socialist choice: a society of justice, economic and political freedoms, a democratic society, a rule-of-law society—these are the parameters.

There are also those values which must be preserved and multiplied in the light of our experience, our outlook, everything that we have lived through together. Attempts are again being made to foist some kind of model on the peoples, to force people into the good life again—is that really socialism? Of course not. Freedom of choice of forms of ownership, political pluralism, and heterodox thinking are not contradictory to socialism. Let the political parties and political leaders compete, let them prove the attractiveness of their programs and goals for the people and win their support.

You, Mikhail Sergeyevich, enjoy tremendous prestige in the country, one of the miners said, addressing the president. Recently, however, it has been declining largely because you are both general secretary and USSR president. In the present situation, miners believe, one cannot worship two gods at the same time. If you value the fate of the country quit the post of general secretary, leave the CPSU the place that it deserves in history.

M.S. Gorbachev: Some slight applause, let the minutes note the fact (animation, laughter). In my opinion, Mikhail Sergeyevich went on, I have spoken out quite frankly on this matter in every auditorium. I think that this is not a once and for all situation. Furthermore, I shall say directly that it is very taxing physically to combine these posts.

But first, this question must be resolved by Communists themselves. This question was discussed at the party congress, you will recall. I was asked my opinion. I expressed it and I abide by it: In the present situation, when a profound process is taking place in the framework of the political reform, the legislative and executive powers are being formed, political pluralism is being formed, and a division of functions between the party and the state is being carried out, I consider this combination of posts useful. After all, a confrontation could occur, for example, between state institutions and the party, which could not be contained. Incidentally, to be frank such situations are already occurring. At each CPSU Central Committee plenum I am seriously criticized on many questions, you clearly know about that. But let us not make a drama out of it.

All the leaders of election-winning parties head the state and remain party leaders at the same time. As a rule, these are party chairmen or national secretaries who simultaneously manage specific party affairs.

It is a different matter that a president by virtue of his position must have normal relationships with all strata of the working people and the people and thus with all political movements of every type. His membership of, in this case, the Communist Party must not get in his way or prevent him from discussing questions of social and state development with representatives of all political movements and strata. I think that everyone, including Communists, must understand that. As for the party's place in history, I think that the processes of perestroyka have essentially already placed it on a level with all the political movements in the country. Even though this party may still be called the ruling party, it no longer has a monopoly of power.

The discussion turned again to acute financial problems. There was a group of questions relating to price policy in conditions of the monopolization of our economy. There must be no diktat here or attempts to extort income and profit by raising prices just because there is no one to

compete with the monopolist. To avoid that, M.S. Gorbachev recalled, antimonopoly legislation is being prepared. I think that it is already being examined by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

A number of miners asked about the fate of the USSR Supreme Soviet commission on privileges. What are the results of its activity? There are commissions of that kind working in the USSR and RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviets, M.S. Gorbachev answered. I think that a reminder that they report to legislators is timely.

There was a note asking what the president is doing to secure the earliest possible signing of the Union treaty. That is precisely what I am working hard on, M.S. Gorbachev answered. There are many different viewpoints on the future of the renewed Union here and they must all be well argued citing the people's opinion. This led me to the conviction that this question really must be presented to the people. Now it has been resolved. Despite the fact that the formulation of the referendum's main question was, in my opinion, complex, all the country's citizens understood what it was about. Some 80 percent of them took part in the vote and 76 percent supported the Union. This is a vast affair. It will now be far more difficult for those who wanted to destroy the Union or turn it into something amorphous and amoeboid. I think that the referendum results have offered an opportunity for largely completing the work of forming the Union treaty in April and presenting it for signing in May. Everything is leading to that. For my own part, I shall use every opportunity to achieve that.

The author of one note asked whether the USSR president's salary is subject to progressive tax. Of course, M.S. Gorbachev replied, my salary is R4,000 of which R1,600 is tax. Minus party and trade union subscriptions. Thus it may be said that the president's pay is R2,000. The president's entire income is determined by decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet; I myself sought to ensure that, M.S. Gorbachev continued. Everything must be settled on a legal basis in our country.

A written question again raised the theme of the president's resignation. Commenting on this note, M.S. Gorbachev said: There is a USSR Constitution, there are also legal mechanisms for removing the president. They are at society's disposal. I consider myself responsible for everything which began in 1985. Thus at this difficult time when we are passing the stage of philosophical discussions and elaboration of policy and have approached real changes in our lives, I am not going to take fright at the difficulties and declare: I quit.

Some of the questions relate to the economic autonomy of miners' collectives, licenses for the sale of coal, and possibilities of concluding advantageous contracts. Detailed answers were given to those questions.

A number of notes were addressed to USSR Prime Minister V.S. Pavlov, who answered them.

In a brief closing speech, M.S. Gorbachev said that in his opinion the two days of joint work in the Kremlin had made it possible during the frank discussion to clarify all the political and economic questions that had been raised. I think, he said, that this did not divide us but, on the contrary, to some extent deepened our mutual understanding. And in any event I want to assure you that for us it is very important to understand the position of the miners, that mighty detachment of the working class. If there are some questions that we are not able to answer at the moment you must understand that fact, too, because there are many problems in the country but the leadership's potential is limited. In these conditions, as I understand it, it is question of the miners' assuming responsibility and commitments to produce more for the country. Therefore, no matter how acute and the complex the discussion may be it is useful and necessary. Let us try to fulfill the main thing that we discussed. I want to take advantage of the opportunity to appeal through you to all the country's miners: Comrades, resolve practical matters now. Do not let yourselves be drawn into political battles and rally mania, otherwise the most difficult tests are in store for the country and us all. It must be understood that we are all in the same boat, we all depend on one another. Therefore, let us row in the same direction. Keep calm and be successful and once more I express the hope of mutual understanding. All the best and greetings to all your comrades.

Strikes Protesting Price Rises in Minsk End

LD0804165191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1430 GMT 8 Apr 91

[Text] All industrial enterprises are working in Minsk today. The collectives where a strike wave unfurled during the first few days of April have resumed work as usual. The strikes were in reaction to the price reforms. Urgent measures have now been undertaken in the republic that aim to lessen the sharp conflicts and stabilize the tense situation.

The government and the Trade Union Federation of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic have sent a joint document on the social protection of the population to the executive committees of the soviets of people's deputies, trade union organizations, and labor collectives. Implementation of the measures envisaged in this document has already started. Grants have been introduced at enterprises. At some automobile plants, the administrators have agreed to raise wages by 30 percent effective 1 April and a minimum wage of 125 rubles has been introduced.

The Minsk town executive committee has adopted a decree according to which the cost of school breakfasts, lunches, and snacks is to remain at its previous level.

[Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian at 1530 GMT on 8 April adds in a similar report: "A town-wide strike in the capital of Belorussia has been suspended. All enterprises are working. The government has promised strikers that it will make concessions and

examine all their economic demands. Minsk employees have set up a town strike committee that is demanding an increase in wages and full compensation for the increase in prices."]

Compensation Payments Delayed

91P50149A Moscow TRUD in Russian 2 Apr 91 p 1

[Interview with V.V. Gerashchenko, chairman of the board, USSR Gosbank, by V. Naumov: "They Miscalculated the Time Parameters"]

[Text] **Before trade is to start at the new prices, payment of compensation to the population should be completed. This is empasized in the Ukase of the USSR President. How much money has actually been paid to citizens before 1 April? With this question we turned to the USSR Gosbank [State Bank] chairman of the board V. V. Gerashchenko.**

[Gerashchenko] It is difficult to say anything definite. The accounts will be received in several days. Based on the work of local banks, we can indirectly judge how the payments are proceeding. Many of the banks did not take advantage of the permission to put into circulation sums intended for compensation. What does this mean? Banks have information on whether their clients, organization and enterprises are ready to take the money and pay the people. It is that that the recipients too frequently exhibit unreadiness.

[Naumov] What is the sum that banking institutions refused to put into circulation?

[Gerashchenko] Around five billion in the last 10 days. This is out of the 18 billion which were intended to be presented for payment through the banking system.

[Naumov] This means about 28 percent. Can it be said that this is the share of compensation not paid to the population?

[Gerashchenko] Very approximately.

[Naumov] In your opinion, what is the reason for the delay?

[Gerashchenko] It would be incorrect to look for someone's plot here. Probably leaders' insufficient quickness played a role. They knew in advance that such work is in store for March. But its volume is really huge. Compensation has to be calculated and paid to almost every resident of the country. This means that a countless number of documents have to be registered and processed. Apparently all of this does not fit into the allocated time limits. In Latvia, where an analogous reform was conducted earlier, it took almost two months. It was too optimistic to think that everything could fit into a ten-day period!

Goods Still in Short Supply Despite Price Hikes

PM0504153191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 2 Apr 91

[Report by correspondent T. Komarovaya, From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Komarovaya] I was lucky today. Today at work I was told to begin the day the way, strictly speaking, women are probably meant to begin the day—by going shopping to see what there is to buy for lunch, for supper, and naturally, to satisfy my curiosity, to see what is happening in our stores today, when prices have gone up and we were expecting the counters to be full of goods. You can see for yourselves what is going on here.

[Reads notice in store window] Store closed for stocktaking. Only milk and yogurt are on sale. And subsequent observations made by our film crew do not need any special comment. Next stop—the bakery. There is bread, and there is also a waiting line—in fact one on each side. The bread from the small bakery is 90 kopeks a loaf.

[Saleswoman] The bread situation has been restored to normal. So people come up and get their bread. We have already sold three cartloads.

[Komarova] I am waiting in line for vegetables. The conversations in the line are the usual ones.

[Woman] What can I say, the stores are empty.

[Second woman] Yes, the stores are empty.

[First woman] Meat costs 7 rubles [R] a kilogram, and it is very bad meat, it's nothing but bones.

[Third woman] We have been to three stores, and if only we could have bought something...

[Komarovaya] Have you no provisions at home?..

[Third woman] Provisions? Where would I keep them?

[Fourth woman] What about in the icebox?

[Komarovaya] Admittedly, the result of many polls confirms that apparently some people have hoarded enough food for six months. Excuse me please, I understand that you have been going around the stores just now, so you know what is available where and at what price. Tell us something about what you have seen in the stores.

[Woman passerby] There are children's fur coats in "Detskiy Mir."

[Komarovaya] For how much?

[Woman passerby] R230.

[Komarovaya] Is there a waiting line?

[Woman passerby] Yes, a small one. There are children's shoes at R42. For 10-year-olds. But there aren't many goods available. But people are trying to buy something.

[Komarovaya] We filmed these comments on the consumer goods situation on our way to the Central Market. Regardless of whether I haggle or not, I still can't afford this—meat at R50 a kilogram. So what do you think, are the prices likely to go up at the market?

[Salesman] It will all depend on the industrial goods. On how much industrial goods will cost.

[Komarovaya] This surprising lack of goods following the price hikes forced us to put the question to the Moscow City Soviet Commission for the Consumer Market.

[V.V. Skvortsov, deputy chairman of the commission] There are supplies, but they are insufficient. If I can put it like this, they do not correspond to normal supplies in Moscow, they are smaller. What will happen now? If the panic buying on the consumer market does not decrease in the near future—and, frankly, we are very much hoping that it will, and I, in particular, am counting on this—then there can be no question of the supply situation improving. That is to say, it will stay the same. But if it decreases slightly, then the situation will become more balanced.

[Komarovaya] So that at the moment we have to say: Let's wait and see.

Orel Oblast Orders Food Supplies Regularized

PM0504160591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Apr 91 Union Edition p 3

["Direct Line" report by Vladimir Kulagin: "An Extraordinary Commission To Protect Consumers?"]

[Text] Orel—An extraordinary commission to protect the local consumer market has been set up under the Orel Oblast Soviet.

At a commission session, measures were outlined to increase the production of food products, improve fixed-standard supplies to the population, and tighten control over customer service quality.

An in-depth analysis of the work of the oblast soviet executive committee [oblispolkom] administration for food supplies and state services showed that neither the Orel agro-industrial sector nor the consumer cooperatives are organizing the purchase of surplus agricultural produce from the population properly, while the "Orel" poultry breeding association often artificially inflates the demand for eggs and poultry meat: Sometimes there is nothing in the stores while produce languishes at poultry units waiting to be shipped out.

It is particularly difficult for country people, particularly teachers, medical workers, the disabled, and pensioners, in the Orel Oblast villages to lay their hands on ration cards for essential goods. The oblast commission to protect the local market has ordered the oblispolkom administration for food supplies, purchases, and state services to restore regular supplies of produce to the trade sector and ensure that all links in the consumption chain—purchasing, production, processng, and registration of produce—operate more efficiently.

Trade Union Deputy on Miners' Strikes

914F0181A Moscow TRUD in Russian 2 Apr 91 p 1

[Statement by A. Yakovlev, deputy chairman of the General Confederation of Trade Unions of the USSR; date not given: "Hopes for the Negotiations"]

[Text] As is known, negotiations begin today between the government of the country and representatives of mining outfits and unions. The position of the General Confederation of Trade Unions of the USSR is described by A. Yakovlev, deputy chairman of the General Confederation of Trade Unions of the USSR:

"I would mention first of all that we are well aware of the problems of the miners, which have been addressed to us by representatives of mining outfits, from the Pechorskiy basin particularly. Nor has the sectoral Coal Industry Union been idle, having conducted and continuing to conduct a dialogue with the government. But now, with the transition to market relations, when profit has become the principal gauge of the outfits' production potential, as it were, and the guarantor of their socioeconomic well-being, the miners' problems have been aggravated. After all, it is understandable that it is impossible to free the price of coal totally and make it a contracted price since this would cause a chain reaction of price increases. In many countries this sector operates on a subsidy, and that it should be sufficient to cater for a decent living standard is another matter. But finding a further R14 billion for extra pay, given a budget deficit of R60 billion, is hardly realistic.

"On the other hand, the sector has been neglected, and people are living and working under extremely bad conditions. Nor did government resolution no. 608, which resolved local problems without essentially affecting strategic ones, change much. For this reason we are placing big hopes in the present negotiations with the president and prime minister of the USSR. And we believe that a comprehensive program of an untying of the tight knots not only in the coal but also other base sectors of industry such as iron and steel and chemical industry, for example, should be formulated. We see as a solution the mining outfits being granted the maximum independence, with the aid of leasing relations, possibly. The miners' level of pay should altogether depend not on some administrative decisions but on the overall level of the economy and on market supply and demand.

"I would say unequivocally that we wholly support the miners' economic demands. The trouble is that some political intriguers, realizing that the striking miners could bring the whole economy of the country to its

knees, are foisting political demands on them. But opting for negotiations and seeking compromise solutions is essential."

TU Council Demands Price Hikes' Compensation

PM0504162991 Moscow TRUD in Russian 5 Apr 91 p 1

[Unattributed report under the general heading "Worrying Response": "The Trade Unions' Position"]

[Text] The reform of retail prices has put even ordinary cafeterias out of the reach of many categories of the population. No compensation covers the expenditure on meals which have gone up in price three to four times over. The trade unions can in no way accept such a state of affairs. V. Kuzmenok, deputy chairman of the AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions], talks about the AUCCTU's position.

"The AUCCTU Council Presidium has demanded that the USSR Cabinet of Ministers fully compensate people for the increased catering charges in works, student, and school cafeterias and in the healthcare system. In no circumstances can a new blow be allowed to hit the already meager budget of millions of people who are the direct producers of our material wealth and our young people and children. Therefore we consider it necessary to adopt a single normative document, agreed with the governments of all republics, which would remove this problem.

"During pointed dialogue at the country's Cabinet of Ministers First Deputy Prime Minister V. Doguzhiyev gave assurances that appropriate decisions would be taken within four days.

"But we want to eat right now. In my view, those republics where catering at accessible prices has been guaranteed and school lunches are provided free of charge acted absolutely correctly. Trade union organizations should not wait for statewide decisions but should, on the contrary, tackle the current problem immediately—with the administrations of enterprises and local soviets.

"At the same time the opinion has become firmly established in the AUCCTU Council that it is essential to abolish the 5-percent sales tax in order to alleviate at least to some extent the shock of the new prices. We also think that deductions from wages into the Pension Fund should be stopped. We are submitting these questions to the AUCCTU Council plenum and will be seeking a solution to them.

"It has to be said that some organs of power at local level have been carried away by the extra taxation. Each such case must be intently scrutinized by trade unions.

"I would like to note that we intend at the plenum scheduled for 10 April to address the substance of the prevailing situation in the country. People are fed up with various kinds of political games; it is time, I think, that both 'left' and 'right' really came to grips with the economy, tackled above all social problems, and finally stopped dividing power.

"The need to provide immediate aid to the countryside has to be talked about. If we do not provide it with all it needs to carry out sowing and then, repeating last year's mistakes, fail to harvest and store all the crop, we will never get out of crisis and a real threat of hunger will hang over us. With all the ensuing social upheavals. Of course we would like everything to be like it is in the Netherlands, for example, and for the farmers to meet our food needs at last. However, we have to reckon with the existing realities, and the trade unions have a clear-cut position: First, help the countryside, that is to say, ourselves. The first thing is to feed the people, and then—with out stomachs full—it will be easier for us to tackle the political issues."

TU Presidium Statement on Economic Situation

914F0181B Moscow TRUD in Russian 2 Apr 91 p 1

["Statement of General Confederation of USSR Trade Unions Council Presidium"]

[Text] The General Confederation of USSR Trade Unions Council Presidium notes with profound concern the sharp deterioration in the socioeconomic position of the country's working people. Last year's decline in production is intensifying. There has been a sharp decline in the recovery and production of most important types of raw material and foodstuffs and milk, meat, and egg purchases. Dozens of large cities and industrial centers are already failing to receive food and consumer goods according to allocation. Business ties are being severed, and shops and plants are coming to a halt. People are being left without work and a livelihood. Rural workers have found themselves in the most difficult situation.

Many working people are clearly aware that in a market situation today's level of wages could in no way secure a more or less tolerable existence for them and their families. Nor do people believe that food and merchandise will appear given the new prices either. Anarchy in production relations is threatening a loss of jobs and killing off any confidence in the future.

The miners' strike, the growing wave of socioeconomic demands, and the readiness to strike in a number of other base sectors of industry clearly point to a serious crisis of confidence among large detachments of the working class in the legislature and executive in the country.

In this situation the General Confederation of USSR Trade Unions Council Presidium, proceeding from the interests of the working people of all sectors united by the General Confederation of USSR Trade Unions, deems it necessary to convene in Moscow on 10 April a plenum of the General Confederation of USSR Trade

Unions Council for the urgent formulation of the tactics of our collective actions under today's conditions. We consider it essential at the plenum to hear a report from the USSR Cabinet on the scheduled measures to halt as quickly as possible the country's slide toward economic chaos and ensure the public's guaranteed minimum provision with goods and food. The working people have a right to know the whole truth about the situation in the country and the government's intentions. The evaluation of the depth and practicability of the USSR Cabinet's anti-crisis program will shape also the position of the General Confederation of USSR Trade Unions on the issue of confidence in the country's highest executive authority.

Report on TU Council Presidium Session

914F0182A Moscow TRUD in Russian 3 Apr 91 p 2

[From the VKP Council Press Center: "Grounds for a Dialogue: At the VKP Council Presidium"]

[Text] As we have already announced, on 29 March a session of the USSR VKP [General Confederation of Trade Unions] Council Presidium took place.

The session discussed the progress in preparing an agreement between the VKP Council and the USSR Cabinet of Ministers for 1991. For almost a month, experts conducted intensive consultations for the purpose of working out a coordinated position of the parties in regard to protection of social and economic interests of the working people, the creation of a mechanism for sustaining a dignified standard of living for the populace, and the prevention of negative consequences of the transition to market relations. The prepared draft contains concrete proposals to ensure the population's employment, develop social services in rural areas, assist the victims of the Chernobyl disaster, preserve the noncommercial sector in the economy, and guarantee social protection of the working people.

The draft agreement stipulates that the USSR Cabinet of Ministers will, during the retail price reform, provide in advance full compensation to the population for the increase in the cost of basic food and nonfood goods and services.

In the third quarter of the current year, work will be completed on the preparation of proposals on labor remuneration reform that will take into account the real value of labor in the labor market and the necessity of establishing a state-guaranteed minimum wage, and will work out tariff agreements.

Among other protective measures, the draft agreement stipulates economic protection of TRUD. Considering that TRUD is the highest-circulation newspaper of the working people, the USSR Cabinet of Ministers guarantees its technical materiel and economic protection—first of all, the supply of paper through centralized allocation channels at fixed state prices, as well as availability of necessary typographic capacities and other services.

However, the parties still disagree on a number of positions stated in the draft document; these should be eliminated in the nearest future.

In the course of a lively discussion on this issue, the session participants emphasized that social guarantees already achieved on the Union level should be considered minimal. They may be set considerably higher in agreements between republic trade union centers with their governments, and in the agreements between industrywide trade unions with the ministries and departments, depending on the local situation and economic potential. Some voiced the opinion that the draft document should include a demand for mandatory signing of tariff agreements with industrywide trade unions. The session participants were unanimous in that they should demand a repeal of the sales tax because of the considerable price increase.

The Presidium instructed the trade union delegation to complete the work on the draft agreement and empowered it to sign it.

The session participants reaffirmed the VKP's unchanged position in regard to retail price reform. It had been formulated in a special statement published in TRUD on 23 March. In the speakers' opinion, the draft basic law "On Indexation of the Population Income" should incorporate the USSR VKP Council's proposals and should be presented to the Supreme Soviet for consideration without delay. It is important to include in it indexation of all income and savings, guarantees of mandatory compensation of the part of income equal to subsistence minimum, and determination and establishment of subsistence minimum in the republics and regions.

The discussion of the issue related to planning distribution of the vouchers to the trade union rest and recreation and resort facilities was conducted in a contentious manner. The administration of the Social Insurance Fund prepared a draft based on proposals from a number of trade union centers; this plan envisioned a substantial decentralization in distributing vouchers and balancing the interests of regions and industries. It was proposed, for instance, to fully transfer to the republic trade union centers the right to plan voucher distribution to their own facilities under republic jurisdiction. As for vouchers to all-Union and unique (by natural setting or health factors) resorts, it was proposed to distribute them in this manner: 80 percent by centralized plan, 15 percent by decision of the republic trade union centers where the resorts are located, and the remaining five percent of the vouchers to be used at the discretion of the resorts' collectives.

However, representatives of the trade union centers of Russia and the Ukraine objected to this proposal. In their opinions, it is enough to create a relatively small

pool of vouchers at the USSR VKP level, and to distribute the bulk of them in the republics. Leaders of the industrywide unions did not agree with this, however. They maintained that this would "encroach on the interests of working people in many branches of industry." The Union resorts were built by the efforts of all trade unions, and therefore should be accessible to all. It was decided to hold additional consultation on this issue. The VKP Council Presidium emphasized the extreme importance of consensus on this issue for the sake of the unity of the trade union movement and the strengthening of the trade union's influence in the workers' collectives.

In connection with the government resolution—adopted at the trade unions initiative—that provides for the improvement of social security for the working people, the Presidium made appropriate changes in the Statute on Issuance of State Social Security Benefits Procedures.

The Presidium approved the draft on membership status of the USSR General Confederation of Trade Unions and resolved to put it on the agenda of the VKP Council's plenum. Also approved for presentation to the plenum were procedures for workers trade union associations to join the VKP and the statute on USSR VKP associate members. Also supported and to be considered at the Council's plenum is a request from the All-Union Society of Inventors and Innovators to join the VKP as an associate member.

The Presidium session approved the prototypes of new forms for concerted trade union statistical reporting. The number of indicators and the frequency of reports are being reduced to the maximum degree possible; the procedures for filling them out have been simplified. Reporting requirements for the trade union committees at primary cell level have been reduced tenfold.

Taking into account the complex sociopolitical situation, the Presidium decided to call the VKP Council's plenum on 10 April, to consider the current situation and to work out the trade unions' tactics. In this connection, a statement by the VKP Council's Presidium was adopted. (It was published in TRUD yesterday).

Other issues related to trade union activities were also discussed.

GATT Expert: USSR Must Join World Economy

91UF0590B Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 29 Mar 91 p 3

[Article by V. Makarchev: "A Force of One Is No Force"]

[Text] Effective reforms in the Soviet economy may only occur on the healthy basis of worldwide competition. Otherwise, serious disproportions will continue to exist in the economy which will make it impossible to stabilize the commodity and money markets in the immediate future. This is the opinion of a number of experts of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). As Richard Blackhurst, director of the GATT Department of Economic Research and Analysis, told a TASS correspondent in an interview, the world market is capable not only of restoring economic equilibrium, but also of creating a powerful export-oriented sector.

Plans of the new Soviet Government for genuine reforms aimed at switching to the market have caused considerable interest in GATT, which engages in the regulation of world trade. However, the "closed nature" of the Soviet economy is one of the most serious flaws of the country's entire economic structure.

Without doubt a number of sectors of the Soviet economy are potentially quite competitive. It is also clear that a segment of enterprises, or even industrial sectors, will be driven to the brink of extinction as a result of world competition. However, this is a natural process which accompanies the creation of a unified world economy. Even countries such as the United States, FRG, or France continuously engage in restructuring their economies, ensuring the optimal division of labor in their own national interests. The longer the USSR stays away from this division of labor the more difficult it will be to catch up with the industrialized world.

Japan To Provide Market Know-How to USSR

91UF0590A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 28 Mar 91 p 3

[TASS report: "A New Impetus for Cooperation"]

[Text] TASS, 27 March—A bilateral agreement on technical assistance to the USSR in switching to a market economy prepared by the Japanese Government envisages providing the Soviet Union with know-how concerning production management and the enhancement of labor productivity. It will be signed during an April visit to Japan by USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev.

As the newspaper YOMIURI reports, according to the draft of this document, the Japanese side is prepared to assist by providing its expertise in spheres such as economic management, financial and currency policy, the organization of small and medium-size enterprises, relations between management and workers, antimonopoly legislation, and the establishment of merchandise and warehouse infrastructure facilities.

Under this agreement, which will apply between 1991 and 1993, the Japanese Government intends to vigorously cooperate with the USSR in its efforts to restructure its industry, particularly, in setting up a center for labor productivity and a center for training business and commercial cadres analogous to those which exist in Japan. It is planned to send Japanese experts to the USSR on a regular basis through both government and private channels, to hold meetings of specialists, and to exchange economic information.

As YOMIURI reports, after the agreement is signed, the Japanese Government intends to embark first of all on creating facilities for merchandise and warehouse infrastructure in the Soviet Far East and on assisting the Soviet Union in standardizing the products it manufactures.

Agricultural

Gorbachev Issues Decree on Agricultural Aid

LD0804194991 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1800 GMT 8 Apr 91

[Text] The USSR president has issued a decree on urgent measures concerning agriculture. An exceptionally tense situation has developed in the agrarian sector. With the aim of rendering practical assistance to the countryside, the president decrees that the USSR Cabinet of Ministers, the republics' governments, and executive committees of local soviets of people's deputies are to introduce a special regime for providing agriculture with material and technical resources and, above all, fuel and lubricants, spare parts, and sowing and harvesting equipment. These resources should be supplied in full to rural consumers.

The USSR president decrees also that necessary decisions are to be adopted fully satisfying citizen's requests for land at the expense of the land of all land-users, including collective farms and state farms. The population is to be given practical assistance in developing this land so that produce can be obtained as early as this year. Apart from this, rigid supervision of implementation of this decree should be established. Officials who do not take effective measures to implement it should be called strictly to account.

The decree by the country's president is published in full in the press.

Text of Decree

PM0804215591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Apr 91 Second Edition p 1

[Decree signed by USSR President M. Gorbachev in Moscow on 8 April:"USSR President's Decree on Urgent Measures in Agriculture"]

[Text] An exceptionally tense situation has developed in the agrarian sector. With the aim of providing practical assistance to the countryside I resolve that:

1. The USSR Cabinet of Ministers, the governments of republics, and local soviet executive committees are to introduce a special regime to provide agriculture with material and technical resources, primarily fuel, lubricants, spare parts, and sowing and harvesting equipment. Despite all the difficulties, rural consumers must be supplied with these resources in full.

The leaders of enterprises in industry, construction, and other sectors connected with agriculture must meet without fail their commitments under contracts concluded with agro industrial complex organizations, irrespective of the fulfillment of plans for the production and sale of output (work, services).

As a matter of priority USSR ministries and departments are to supply agricultural machine-building plants, primarily those producing grain combine harvesters and feed-harvesting machines, with the requisite amount of rolled metal, chemical products, and components.

In view of agriculture's acute need for highly effective plant protection agents, 210 million foreign currency rubles are to be allocated for the acquisition of them.

2. In the light of the specific situation the governments of the republics and local organs of power and management are to promptly adopt decisions on all questions of carrying out sowing, crop harvesting, and other agricultural work—to the extent of taking emergency measures.

No reduction in the area sown to cereal and industrial crops, potatoes, and vegetables can be permitted in today's conditions.

Contracts to recruit manpower from enterprises, organizations, and educational institutions to assist the countryside are to be completed within two weeks on the basis of the decisions previously adopted by the USSR Government.

3. The governments of the republics and local organs of power and management are to urgently adopt the necessary decisions to satisfy to the maximum extent citizens' requests for land by using the land of all land-users, including kolkhozes and sovkhozes [collective and state farms]. The population is to be given practical assistance in assimilating this land to ensure produce is obtained before this year is out.

4. In connection with the introduction of the new level and procedure for forming wholesale and purchase prices, the USSR Ministry of Agriculture and Food, the USSR Ministry of the Economy and Forecasting, the USSR Ministry of Finance, and the USSR Gosbank [State Bank] are to prepare and submit to the USSR Cabinet of Ministers within a month proposals on ensuring equivalent exchange between agriculture and industry, construction, and other branches of the national economy. The fundamental changes in the economic mechanism in connection with the transition to market relations are to be reflected in these proposals.

The attention of all levels of management organs is drawn to the need to calling strictly to account those who take advantage of a monopoly situation to inflate prices and virtually exercise diktat over agricultural commodity producers.

5. The USSR Ministry of Material Resources, in collaboration with republic organs, is to ensure preferential

deliveries of cement, lumber, prefabricated wooden houses, roofing material, and engineering equipment for the construction of facilities for the rural social sphere.

Construction and installation organizations and construction industry and industrial enterprises are to be given relief from taxes on the profits obtained during the construction of housing, internal farm roads, and gas supply facilities in rural localities, within the limits of the amounts of the tax paid into the union budget. Republic Supreme Soviets and local soviets of people's deputies are recommended to grant the said enterprises and organizations similar privileges concerning the profits tax within the limits of the amounts channeled into republic and local budgets.

6. The USSR Cabinet of Ministers, republic governments, and USSR ministries and departments are to establish tight control over fulfillment of this decree and are to call strictly to account officials who do not take effective measures to implement it.

[Signed] USSR President M. Gorbachev.

The Kremlin, Moscow, 8 April 1991.

Cabinet Demands Agriculture Debt Repayment

LD0804171791 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT 8 Apr 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The Cabinet of Ministers of the USSR has demanded that in the next few weeks, rural partners repay debts owed on equipment, fertilizer, and fuel supplies.

Well, you see, now that economic links have been wrecked, barter deals have become the norm, which, frankly speaking, have turned into downright extortion and speculation on the desperate situation in the countryside. Price lists exist for the sake of appearance while clearing accounts are kept, in actual fact, on crushing terms. Thus, a silage combine-harvester used to cost 27 tonnes of wheat but now it costs 317 tonnes. An empty fuel oil barrel costs almost one quintal of wheat. The Volgograd tractor factory sends motor vehicles without caterpillar tracks, and the Altay and some others, without cabins and fuel tanks. An additional 20,000 rubles, in addition to the set payment, was demanded from Karaganda peasant farmers for every K-700 [tractor] of theirs. One could draw up a long list of how the countryside is being fleeced. I think you will agree that peasant farmers do not live any better at all than representatives of other professions, but sometimes even worse if you go through the non-chernozem zone, for instance. And we're still complaining that they are unable to feed the country.

Peasant Union Says Mine Strikes 'Unacceptable'

914B0135A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 5 Apr 91 p 1

[Appeal by USSR Peasant Union Presidium; date not given: "Appeal to Striking Miners of the Country's Coal Industry"]

[Text] Dear Comrades!

The Soviet peasantry expresses profound concern at the aggravated situation in the country in connection with the continuing miners' strike, which is paralyzing an already unstable economy: foundries are coming to a halt, machine-building production is declining, the fuel and power complex is in turmoil, and breakdowns in the supply of heat to apartment houses in town and country are occurring. The whole completely innocent population of the country, old people, and children particularly, are suffering here.

Continuation of the strike could have unpredictable consequences for the agro-industrial complex. Even today there has been a sharp decline in supplies to the countryside of equipment, spares, fuel, mineral fertilizer, and other material resources vitally necessary for the development of agriculture. Under these conditions the peasants will be forced to cut back on the areas sown to agricultural crops and on the head of livestock, and this will inevitably lead to a reduction in the production of food in the country and intensify even more the already serious situation concerning supplies of food to the public.

While understanding your difficulties and the need for their solution, we at the same time believe that strikes are at this time unacceptable and of an antipopular nature. They will inevitably lead to the collapse of the economy and a sharp drop in the working people's living standard.

There are many unsolved problems in agriculture also. And were the peasants to go your route, that of strikes, to cease to cultivate grain and produce meat, milk, and other products, the country would face inevitable starvation. The main thing now is to work selflessly and with full input in all sectors of the economy. We are convinced that only under these conditions may the accumulated problems in our life be solved. On behalf of the multimillion-strong peasantry we appeal to you representatives of the working class to call off the strike and join actively in work.

In this complex situation we call on the USSR Government to quickly examine the issues raised by the miners and adopt decisions in respect of them geared to the protection of the interests of the coal industry work force.

We call on the local soviet authorities to render the miners the utmost assistance in an improvement in social conditions and general amenities.

We call on the outfits of the collective and state farms and agro-industrial complex processing and food industry enterprises to find additional potential and opportunities for an improvement in the provision of miners and their families with food.

We express confidence that miners and all coal industry workers will display good sense and make by their labor a worthy contribution to the stabilization of the situation in the country.

[Signed] USSR Peasant Union Presidium.

Late March Weather, Crop Condition Report

914B0134A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 25 Mar 91 p 3

[Report by agricultural meteorologist T. Ivashneva: "The Weather and the Sowings"]

[Text] Warm weather was predominant over a large part of the country's European territory in the past 10 days. Average temperature for the 10-day period was 2-4 degrees above the perennial average. Only in Arkhangelsk Oblast, the Komi ASSR, and the northern half of the Urals was it close to it. The warmest days were recorded in the first five days.

Winter cereal crops and grasses grew in Moldova, the southern oblasts of the Ukraine, and in the North Caucasus. The vegetation of the winter crops resumed five to 10 days earlier than the average perennial times in the other areas of the Ukraine and in the far south of Belorussia and the lower Volga. The condition and moisture sufficiency of the sown areas are good and satisfactory, in general. The soil has thawed out throughout the above-mentioned territory, and it has begun to dry. In connection with the warm and dry weather (only 1-10 mm of precipitation in the 10-day period) it has reached the yielding state in the southwest half of the Ukraine, in the far south of Belorussia, and in the North Caucasus. On the majority of days the conditions for spring field work and the sowing of early spring cereal crops and feed crops were favorable.

On a large part of Belorussia, in the Baltic, in the western northwest area, in the southwest oblasts of the central area and on the bulk of the territory of the Central-Chernozem area there was no snow cover on the fields with winter cereal crops, but the soil was frozen, and the plants were in a dormant state, as a rule.

Snow cover persists in the fields, as before, at the end of March north of the Leningrad-Tver-Lipetsk-Saratov line, and conditions for damage to the winter crops and perennial grasses from sweating out persisted in places.

The warmest days in the Transcaucasus republics were recorded in the latter half of the 10-day period, when in daylight hours the temperature heated up to 18-25 degrees. Winter cereal crops grew and were in the tillering phase, and the stem-extension phase has set in places in Azerbaijan with the winter wheat. The blossoming of the buds has begun for the fruit crops, and early varieties of apricots are in bloom in Azerbaijan.

Winter practices predominate in the farming areas of Western Siberia and North Kazakhstan, but the low temperatures were no danger to the winter cereal crops and perennial grasses.

The first two days of the 10-day period were cold in the cropping areas of Central Asia. It subsequently became warmer, and the maximum temperature rose to 18-27 degrees. The winter cereal crops grew and were mainly in the tillering phase, and in the fields where in the fall the moisture had been insufficient for development, in the third-leaf phase. Apricots, almonds, and cherry plums, and in the far south, peaches and cherries, have blossomed. The conditions for spring field operations and the sowing of early spring cereal crops, cool-weather resistant vegetables and fodder crops were favorable. Only in Tajikistan and Uzbekistan's Surkhan-Darya and Kashka-Darya Oblasts was the field work complicated at the end of the 10-day period because of rain.

Scientific

Mir Complex To Be Enlarged

LD0804183991 Moscow TASS in English 1816 GMT 8 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Rena Kuznetsova]

[Text] Moscow April 8 TASS—Soviet cosmonauts Viktor Afanasyev and Musa Manarov have been working in space for 127 days. A huge map at the mission control centre shows the flight's trajectory. A shimmering blue spot moving on the map is the Mir orbital complex with the members of the eighth main mission.

"The stellar home" includes the Kvant, Kvant-2 and Kristall modules, the Soyuz TM-11 spaceship and the Soyuz M-7 ferry which was a great headache both for mission centre staffers and the cosmonauts.

All the ferries docked smoothly until now, but the fiftieth baulked. It docked only after the third attempt on March 28. The cosmonauts are now unloading it. Centre executives said that the space crew displayed high professionalism, self-control, and what is the main thing, mother wit under emergency conditions.

Understanding that the cosmonauts underwent great moral and physical strains (docking of the latest space ferry and three space walks), centre specialists say that the space crew's workload is extremely high.

This notwistanding, Afanasyev and Manarov offered to make the fourth space walkout in the interests of the Mir space station's life-supporting system.

Viktor Blagov, a centre official, told TASS that there are plans to enlarge the Mir complex. The Spektr module with optical equipment for zonal photography will be blasted off early in 1992.

It is planned to fire off the international Priroda ecological module late in 1992 or early 1993. This will certainly be an additional workload for cosmonauts.

The cosmonauts will work aboard the station on April 12 when all the world will mark the 30th anniversary of the first space flight by Yuriy Gagarin. They will perform a responsible work on that day: control over the adjustment of the station's orbit.

They will be holiday-making on April 13-14. On April 10, they will be congratulated by their cosmonaut colleagues, astronauts, members of the international association of space flight participants, who will gather at the mission control centre to mark the 30th anniversary of man's first flight in space.

Military

Army Helicopter Crashes on Rescue Mission

LD0804184891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1740 GMT 8 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow, 8 Apr (TASS)—A TASS correspondent has been told at the press center of the USSR Ministry of Defense that on 4 April, an Mi-8 helicopter of one of the Air Force units of the North Caucasus Military District crashed in the mountains near Mt. Elbrus while on a rescue mission. It was taking part in a search for the crew and passengers of a Ministry of Civil Aviation helicopter that had made a forced landing on 3 April on a southern slope of Mt. Elbrus following engine failure.

Crew members Major A. Skiba, Captain S. Ustinov, Senior Lieutenant V. Tolstopyatov, mountain rescue workers A. Gurtuyev and A. Lukin, an amateur skier, V. Hendriksen, and also R. Schwerger, an FRG citizen died as a result of the catastrophe.

The second rescue mission, carried out at the request of a representative of the territorial department of the Ministry of Civil Aviation and tourist group leader R. Schwerger, turned out to be fatal for the crew and passengers. The first mission brought the crew members and passengers of the Ministry of Civil Aviation helicopter, who included citizens of the FRG and Finland, out of the area of the crash landing, and took them to the Terskol landing pad.

The causes of the catastrophe are so far not known. An investigation is underway.

More on Press Briefing on Army Communists

PM0504155191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Apr 91 Second Edition p 2

[V. Izgarshev report: "Communists in the Army"]

[Text] As readers already know, the First All-Army Party Conference was held in Moscow in the last few days. Its results and what the new political and party organs, created on the basis of the 28th CPSU Congress decisions, represent, were discussed at a press conference for Soviet and foreign journalists held in the CPSU Central Committee Press Center yesterday.

Colonel General N. Shlyaga, USSR first deputy defense minister and chief of the USSR Armed Forces Main Military-Political Directorate, and Major General M. Surkov, secretary of the All-Army Party Committee, held a dialogue with mass media employees. Major General P. Grigoryev, chairman of the USSR Armed Forces CPSU Organization Control Commission, was also presented to the journalists.

The following was said about the activity of other parties and organizations, apart from the CPSU, in the Army environment: According to the USSR Constitution and other Soviet laws, they can undoubtedly exist within the Army, and communist servicemen are prepared to cooperate with them on the basis of existing legislation. However, the real situation today is as follows: There are no other parties in the units and subunits. A total of 80 percent, and this is over 1 million people, is the figure representing the stratum of communists among officers, warrant officers, ensigns, and servicemen on extended service. However, is it correct to call such a number of party members a stratum?

Given that utterances are being made about the departyization of the Army, communists in uniform are assessing them fairly as a demand for repartyization. Is there a phenomenon in the Army such as resigning from the CPSU? Yes, there is. But if we are speaking of a general trend, then the trend is that the ranks of the CPSU party organization are growing in the Army and Navy. In the first quarter of this year, 8,000 people left the party and 10,441 joined it in the same period. And these were young people, representatives of leading Army professions. The figures do not require any special comment.

Armed Forces Party Control Commission Provision

PM0804125191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Apr 91 First Edition p 2

["Provision on USSR Armed Forces CPSU Organization's Control Commission"]

[Text] 1. The USSR Armed Forces CPSU Organization's Control Commission is elected by the all-Army party conference with a view to the communists and party organizations exercising control over the All-Army Party Committee's execution of CPSU program documents and Statutes and decisions of party congresses and conferences and the all-Army party conference.

The commission is guided by the CPSU Statutes and this provision and is independent in its activity and subordinate to the all-Army party conference.

2. The USSR Armed Forces CPSU Organization's Control Commission

—exercises control over the fulfillment of the CPSU Program and Statutes and decisions of congresses and conferences and the observance of democratic principles in the activity of the all-Army committee and protests its decisions if they do not accord with program and statute provisions or existing legislation;
—examines appeals from party organizations and communists which reach it, makes proposals to eliminate the shortcomings revealed, and takes steps with regard to instances of bureaucracy, the suppression of criticism, abuse of official position, and other violations of the norms of party life;
—in accordance with the CPSU Statutes takes to task a communist who violates party discipline and the norms of public morality. The decisions of the Control Commission on taking a communist to task are brought to the attention of the relevant primary party organization;
—promotes the organizational and political consolidation of party organizations and the enhancement of Army and Navy communists' activity in implementing the party's policy in the field of military building and in the consolidation of the country's defense capability;
—protects the rights, honor, and dignity of communists and watches to ensure that party organizations and elected party organs to not infringe the minority's right to defend its position and that the decisions which are taken are fulfilled by all communists;
—examines appeals against the decisions of the control commissions of CPSU organizations of the branches of the USSR Armed Forces, categories of troops, districts, groups of forces, and fleets on making communists answerable to the party and decides questions of party rehabilitation;
—takes part in the examination of differences which arise between party committees and relevant control commissions;
—controls the execution of the budget of the USSR Armed Forces CPSU Organization, audits the financial and economic activity of the all-Army Party Committee and its printed organ and primary party organizations which are directly subordinate [zamykayushchiyesya na] to the all-Army Party Committee;
—verifies in the all-Army Party Committee and its apparatus the observance of the established procedure for examining party organizations appeals and letters and statements;
—analyzes the practice of the work of the control commissions of CPSU organizations in the Armed Forces, collaborates with them in control and auditing and appeal work and the examination of letters and statements, and renders them methodological assistance.

3. The USSR Armed Forces CPSU Organization's Control Commission is elected with the membership determined by the all-Army party conference.

The chairman of the Control Commission is elected with his simultaneous election as a member of the commission or, at the delegates' discretion, at a plenum of the Control Commission. Communists elected to the Control Commission cannot at the same time be members of the all-Army Party Committee or be workers in its apparatus.

Plenary sessions of the Control Commission were held as necessary but no less than twice a year and also at the demand of at least one third of its members.

At the plenum the Control Commission elects a Presidium from among its members and creates permanent commissions from among the members of the Control Commission and other communists and determines their powers.

Members of the Control Commission take part with a right to a voice but no vote in the work of the plenums and bureau of the all-Army Party Committee and can also attend meetings of primary party organizations and sessions of their committees and bureaus.

The Control Commission Presidium submits every year to the Control Commission plenum a report on its activity.

4. The USSR Armed Forces CPSU Organization's Control Commission adopts resolutions on questions within its competence, approves acts on the basis of audits, and brings them to the attention of the all-Army Party Committee bureau and the leaders of the party organizations which are being audited, who must report promptly to the Control Commission on the measures taken.

Members of the Control Commission, to fulfill the functions envisaged by the CPSU Statutes and this provision, have the right to make use of all documents of the USSR Armed Forces party organizations.

5. Differences which arise between the Control Commission and the all-Army Party Committee are resolved by conciliation commissions created on an equal footing and also at joint plenums or sessions of the bureau of the all-Army Party Committee and the Control Commission Presidium. A joint solution is considered adopted if, with separate voting, at least two-thirds of the members of the Party Committee and Control Commission vote for it.

6. The USSR Armed Forces CPSU Organization's Control Commission performs its work openly and regularly informs party organizations of its activity, also using the mass media for the purpose.

7. The USSR Armed Forces CPSU Organization's Control Commission uses party budget funds to maintain the apparatus necessary for its work and provides material and technical backup for its activity. Funds for these purposes are determined at a joint plenum of the all-Army Party Committee and the Control Commission.

Moscow Hosts 'Patriotic Movements' Meeting

PM0504102391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 Mar 91 First Edition p 2

[Report by Lieutenant Colonel A. Oleynik: "First Dialogue"]

[Text] A meeting between representatives of Moscow Military District and the leaders and coordinators of a number of social and patriotic movements standing on a platform of the unity and integrity of the Union was held 27 March in the garrison Officers' Club. Representatives of the movements "Fatherland," "Unity," "United Front of the Working People," "Women in the Struggle for Socialism," and "Russian Center" (the USSR Writers' Union), the Moscow City Club of Leninist Communists, the officers' sociopolitical club acting under the auspices of the V.I. Lenin Academy, and a number of others gathered at the roundtable.

A useful exchange of views was held on the complex processes taking place today in the central regions of Russia and in Moscow and on the coordination of joint efforts aimed at strengthening the unity and prestige of the armed defender of the fatherland and educating young people in the spirit of patriotism and internationalism.

Baltic Republics

Poll-Boycotting Republics Meet in Kishinev

LD0904032291 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 8 Apr 91

[Text] A report was made by Deputy E. Petrovas, member of the Supreme Council Presidium at today's briefing at the Supreme Council about a meeting that took place in Kishinev on 4 and 5 April where representatives from the Baltic states, Georgian, Armenian, and Moldovan legislatures met.

The USSR Supreme Soviet recently declared that the results of the USSR referendum must be valid on the entire territory of the Soviet Union, although Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Georgia, Armenia, and Moldova did not take part in it, said Eugenijus Petrovas. It was this fact that prompted the idea to hold a working group meeting in Kishinev.

A unanimous opinion was reached at the meeting that it was expedient to prepare an appeal to the USSR Government, perhaps to the United Nations and legislatures of other countries, in which disagreement with the above declaration by the USSR Supreme Soviet would be expressed.

Besides, discussions were held concerning measures that would protect these republics from possible economic and political pressure by the Soviet Union as well as from the use of military force.

The document currently is being coordinated. The work is being coordinated by M. Snegur, chairman of the Moldovan Supreme Council.

Latvian People's Front 7 Apr Session Detailed

LD0804201791 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 0400 GMT 8 Apr 91

[Text] Participating in the session of the Dome of the People's Front of Latvia yesterday were 91 councillors of the 160 members of the Dome. A survey of the work of the People's Front Faction of the Supreme Council was presented by Deputy Juris Dovelis. He presented a brief survey of the political situation, (?noting) that in Moscow no one has given up the idea of occupying the Baltics. He emphasized that efforts are continuing to demolish the People's Front, even bringing up the idea that this organization is not necessary. Juris Dobelis stressed that for the time being it is too early to liquidate this public political organization.

On the Dome's cooperation and the legislature's activity, Juris Dobelis said that at the moment this contact has been lost, and he invited Dome members to attend sittings of the People's Front Faction of the Supreme Council.

Chairman of the People's Front, Romualds Razuks described the political situation in Latvia on a much broader scale, recalling a relatively (?broader) phase. He said that the Baltic problem is now closer to solution than ever before, and the moment is approaching when for the second time this century we will be really free. There are many (?manifestations) of this: the statement of U.S. Secretary of State Baker, the situation in Russia, and in particular Yeltsin's victory at the extraordinary congress in the Russian Federation; another indication of it is the start of talks with the USSR, which are due to open in Moscow on 11 April. These and many other questions are to be discussed by the leaders of the people's fronts of all three Baltic republics in Tallinn on 13 April, when all of them will arrive for the congress of the People's Front of Estonia.

The chairman of the political committee of the People's Front of Latvia, Uldis Augstkalns, reported on the front's program of action for the coming period. The situation at the Riga Council of Deputies was reported by the chairman of the People's Front faction in the council, (Ddzintars Zibins). After that there were debates, at which 17 councillors spoke.

The next sitting of the Dome of the People's Front will take place on 27 April. It has been decided to invite to it Republic of Latvia Premier Ivars Godmanis, so that there can be a discussion before the (?change of regulations) of how to (?live) in future. Several documents and an invitation to the People's Front of Latvia faction of the Supreme Council were adopted.

Soviet Troops Occupy Vilnius Driving School

LD0904101591 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 9 Apr 91

[Speech by Deputy Norvila to the Lithuanian Supreme Council in Vilnius—live]

[Text] Unfortunately, I have to report some rather unpleasant news. At about 0900, the drivers' training school in Vilnius was occupied by the military. This is the Vilnius Technical School at 24 Plytine Street, Vilnius.

The head of the school has informed us that General Taurinskas, his deputy Colonel Fomenko, and former colonel, now retired, Karablikov were sitting in his study. My deputy and I went there. They said that they were implementing a directive from general headquarters on training a contingent for the Soviet troops. This directive was read to us. Of course, nothing very specific was mentioned in it. However, they are basing themselves on this document which was issued on 14 March.

It was explained to them that the school is the property of the Republic of Lithuania and that only the laws of the Republic of Lithuania are valid there and that this is not in their jurisdiction. They responded by saying that their jurisdiction will soon be proved with guns, which in fact was done.

Since 0800 a vehicle with armed servicemen had been hidden in the nearby forest. It appeared that the mayor, who had to carry out this action, was uncomfortable with it. The vehicle arrived and guards were placed at the doors and by the motor vehicle pool of the technical school. The soldiers are wearing bullet-proof vests and are armed with machine guns.

The representatives of the press were warned in advance. Correspondents from the newspapers RESPUBLIKA and LIETUVOS AIDAS arrived and before they could take their cameras they were ordered to hand in the films in the cameras. They were threatened with guns. I showed my deputy's certificate and said that they would have to shoot me first, which, no doubt, they would have done.

It appears that the occupation is continuing. These actions cannot be qualified in any way other than as occupational actions, acts of banditry and an attempt to torpedo the negotiations which have started. This is my personal assessment and I think you will support it.

I would like to tell all the residents of Vilnius who are currently studying there or are to receive driver's licenses at the Vilnius Technical School for Training Drivers that they should not go there at the moment. Bearing in mind the behavior of Soviet troops, you must not go there because it is dangerous. You can obtain information about how to continue with your studies by phoning 627587. We will try to do everything so that your training is not disrupted. This was a brief report on yet another instance of brigandry by the Soviet troops. Thank you.

'Alarming' Troop Movements in Lithuania

LD0804141791 Vilnius International Service in English 2130 GMT 7 Apr 91

[Text] There were alarming reports about continued Soviet military troop movement in Lithuania last week, with certain units changing their locations inside this country, while new and unidentified military units were reported to have moved in from the Soviet Union. Well-informed sources say that some of them are now stationed on the outskirts of Vilnius in temporary camp sites. Resorting to cunning schemes, Soviet officers have succeeded in abducting several Lithuanian youths who have either refused to be drafted or have deserted from the ranks of the Soviet Army. It seems likely that this tendency will grow stronger with the spring call-up approaching.

Besides, the top military leadership in Moscow is extremely irritated by the en masse refusal of Lithuanian youths to serve in the Soviet Army.

In another development linked with the Soviet Army, the Lithuanian Government has announced that it will pay compensation to all Soviet Army officers stationed in Lithuania so that they could cope with the steep price rises introduced in this republic as of 26 March.

Lithuania Counts Cost of Soviet 'Occupation'

LD0404173691 Vilnius International Service in English 2130 GMT 3 Apr 91

[Text] The activity of the Soviet Army of occupation in January and February of this year caused Lithuania's economy and private individuals damages amounting to almost 75 million rubles [R]. The damage done through injury of people and various traumas on (?these grounds) has been estimated R1.3 million.

This data has been released by the Lithuanian Statistics Department.

7 Apr Incidents Reported at News Briefing

LD0804163291 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in Lithuanian 1300 GMT 8 Apr 91

[Excerpts] We begin with information [words indistinct] at this morning's briefing at the Supreme Council building. [passage omitted]

At 0145 on 7 April an ambulance driver, driving by the sixth [word indistinct] in Kaunas, noticed a burning cross, which they extinguished. The cross has been erected by the Association of Political Prisoners and Deportees. It should be noted that there had been earlier attempts to set the cross on fire. At 0100 on Sunday, 7 April, in [name indistinct] in the vicinity of the House of Culture, some shots were heard. Four men, in plain clothes, were firing at street lights with automatic weapons and pistols. They reacted very aggressively to the critical remarks of residents, and assaulted Yuriy Sosnovskiy and Arturas Gruodis. Following this, the unknown individulas got into a VAZ 469 [word indistinct] automobile, and drove off toward Vilnius. Yuriy Sosnovskiy and Arturas Gruodis had to be quickly taken to First Clinical Hospital in Vilnius, where they were treated.

Yet another Interior Ministry (?report). At 2337 on 7 April, an alert was received that shots were being fired in the vicinity of (Kroglu) and Klevai streets, [words indistinct]. On arrival, the policemen found nothing unusual. Shots again rang out, [passage indistinct] [passage omitted]

Lithuanian-Soviet Negotiating Protocol Released

LD0704005791 Vilnius International Service in English 2130 GMT 6 Apr 91

[Text] A common protocol of the recent meeting of the Lithuanian and Soviet negotiating teams was released today. The document sets forth the basic principles of future Lithuanian-Soviet negotiations that will be held with no preconditions and on a parity basis. Human rights, the sovereignty of both negotiating sides, and internationally accepted principles of law will be respected. No illegal forms of exerting pressure on either side will be used. The protocol states that the aim of the talks is to regulate the relations beween the Republic of

Lithuania and the Soviet Union. Various procedural issues have been coordinated by this document as well. The negotiating teams have agreed that their official meetings will be held once or twice a month, the next taking place at the end of April, the beginning of May.

Stankevicius-Doguzhiyev Meeting Cancelled

PM0804145391 Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 28 Mar 91 p 1

[Report by ELTA special correspondent Balis Buchyalis: "The Meeting Did Not Take Place"]

[Text] Moscow, 26 Mar—Ceslovas Stankevicius, deputy chairman of the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Soviet, organized a news conference at the Lithuanian Republic Government's Permanent Mission in Moscow tonight.

C. Stankevicius arrived in Moscow with full powers to represent the state delegation for talks with the USSR and its leader Vytautas Landsbergis.

C. Stankevicius and delegation members Aleksandras Abishala and Audrius Butkevicius were scheduled to meet Vitaliy Doguzhiyev, USSR first deputy premier and leader of the USSR delegation, at 1500 hours. C. Stankevicius announced at the news conference that the meeting did not take place. Vitaliy Doguzhiyev's office, he said, did not give any reasons.

The delegation departed for Vilnius today. Prior to his departure, Ceslovas Stankevicius made the following statement to press representatives: "We offer an immediate agreement on procedures and the start—in the next few days, possibly as early as 28 March—of talks in Vilnius between the delegations of the Lithuanian Republic and the USSR for the purpose of restoring interstate relations between the Lithuanian Republic and the USSR.

"The talks must be held without preconditions or strongarm pressure. It is necessary for the USSR not to raise the precondition of recognizing the USSR's sovereignty over Lithuania, in other words of legitimizing the 1940 annexation.

"If the talks were to be constructive, they must be conducted on the basis of the sides' equality in accordance with the principles of international law."

Taking part in the news conference were Minister Aleksandras Abishala; Audrius Butkevicius, general director of the Territorial Protection Department; and Romualdas Ozolas, deputy of the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Soviet.

Text of Lithuanian Appeal to Democracies

PM0504163191 Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 26 Mar 91 p 1

[Appeal signed by V. Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Soviet, in Vilnius on 21 March: "Appeal by the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Soviet to Democratic States in Europe, the United States, Canada, Australia, and Japan"]

[Text] Lithuania, having experienced numerous repressive actions by the USSR side on account of its desire for freedom, unanimously reaffirmed its desire to restore its independence and normal friendly relations with its eastern neighbor in the plebiscite held 9 February 1991. Unfortunately, the USSR leadership, which has not convicted or punished a single conspirator or military leader responsible for the 11-13 January killings in Vilnius, is still pursuing the same policy of aggressive pressure toward Lithuania. A special military subunit with a terrorist purpose, the "black berets," has been formed by the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs in the Lithuanian capital, and is carrying out almost daily armed attacks on passersby, officials, and Lithuanian Republic deputies. As a result of these actions, blood is being shed in Lithuania right up to the present time, and the life and health of the entire civilian population is under constant threat. These actions are intended to destabilize and destroy the internal life of the Lithuanian Republic, to provoke reactions by the Lithuanian public or state structures and massive intervention by the USSR Armed Forces. In the conditions of an escalation of these threats and aggressive actions, we appeal to you with this request:

Do not remain indifferent in the face of further USSR aggression against Lithuania;

Demand that the Soviet Union cease its direct military intervention in the internal life of the Lithuanian Republic;

Declare that the intentions of the Soviet Union's leadership and its new policy will be verified not just against words but against real steps—withdrawal of the aggressive terrorist "black beret" military subunit from Vilnius and the territory of the Lithuanian Republic, and the return of the television and radio buildings in Vilnius and the cultural wealth housed therein, which were seized by USSR troops, to their owner—the Lithuanian Republic.

We hope that you will not refuse to thus defend peace, democracy, and human rights in the Baltic region, and that you will respond to our appeal with action.

[Signed] V. Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Soviet
Vilnius, 21 March 1991

RSFSR

Moscow City Soviet Continues Militia Debate

LD0804172991 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1500 GMT 8 Apr 91

[Text] The events of this morning introduced a change to the agenda of the session of the Moscow City Soviet

Presidium. Sergey Stankevich told delegates that the meeting of the collegium of the capital's Main Internal Affairs Directorate planned for 1000 had not taken place. It was there that they should have presented one of the five joint holders of the post of head of the main administration, Militia Major General Komissarov. Talks between the heads of the city, the Union, and Russian ministries had produced no result. So far the position of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs has triumphed. The verdict of the Russian Ministry of Internal Afairs, which is contradictory to the decree of the president, is invalid.

In this connection, the Moscow City Soviet leadership deemed it necessary to present the issue of creating a municipal militia and of changing the status of the Main Internal Affairs Directorate to the presidium for it to discuss. On the first point a unanimous decision was made, but remaining clauses gave rise to fierce debates. One proposal is to stop financing the Main Directorate from the capital's purse.

The definitive results will be known later, but at a moment when the fate of the Moscow militia is being settled, it is important not to allow ambition to triumph over common sense, and important that (?in the flare up of) emotions, the emergency phone service should remain working, and the city and the people should rest assured of their safety.

Moscow City Soviet Deputies End Hunger Strike

LD0804230791 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2030 GMT 8 Apr 91

[Text] We have just received a report saying that the Moscow City Soviet deputies who went on a hunger strike to protest the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry leadership refusing to approve General Komissarov as head of the Moscow militia, announced today that they are suspending their action. This decision was made because the Moscow City Soviet adopted a decision on setting up a municipal militia.

MVD Colonel Shot Dead in Rostov

LD0804184391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1825 GMT 8 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow, 8 Apr (TASS)—As reported to a TASS correspondent in the press service of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, at about 0800 today in Rostov-na-Donu, Colonel Vladimir Blakhotin, deputy chief of the Internal Troops Administration of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry [MVD] for the North Caucasus and the Transcaucasus, was killed by bursts of automatic fire while setting off for work. An investigation is under way.

Tomsk Oblast Soviet Sends Gorbachev Ultimatum

LD0804230291 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 2230 GMT 8 Apr 91

[Text] According to the SIBINFORM agency, the NARODNAYA TRIBUNA paper has published a statement by the Tomsk Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies, addressed to the USSR president, the USSR Supreme Soviet and Cabinet of Ministers, and the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers.

The statement reads that Tomsk Oblast, which delivers 15 million tonnes of oil and 7 million cubic meters of timber as its state orders, and is exploited to the extreme by the central departments, has nothing left with which to support its own social programs and is on the verge of a social explosion. If the government fails to adopt urgent measures to provide vital supplies to the oblast, the Oblast Soviet reserves the right to adopt countermeasures to protect the interests of the population resident on its territory, up to and including the most extreme measures.

Leaving as much means and resources on the territory of the oblast as may be needed by the oblast—something that only the oblast soviet should define—can be a measure to normalize the situation. The central authorities should decide on this issue by 1 June this year. The oblast soviet asks the oblast's population to maintain calm and order until this date.

Further Reportage on Third RSFSR Congress

IZVESTIYA on Final Day

PM0904100091 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Apr 91 Union Edition pp 1, 3

[Report by I. Demchenko and G. Shipitko on 5 April proceedings at the Congress of Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic People's Deputies: "Russian Congress Ends"]

[Text] The Congress of RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] People's Deputies ended its work on 5 April.

As we have already reported, on the last day of its work the congress adopted a resolution "On the Redistribution of Powers Among the RSFSR's Highest State Organs To Implement Anticrisis Measures and Fulfill the Decisions of the Congress of People's Deputies." The document substantially extends the rights of the republic's organs of power, and also of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet chairman and the RSFSR prime minister.

The Russian legisalture is granted powers to promulgate laws that come within the competence of the Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies, except for the adoption of a constitution. It is stipulated that no one may use these powers to dissolve the legitimately elected organs of state power. The RSFSR Supreme Soviet chairman and prime

minister receive the right to promulgate directives [rasporyazheniya] that are binding in the republic's territory, within the framework of RSFSR legislation. It is noteworthy that it is a question of executive orders rather than acts of legislation. The resolution is to remain in force until the RSFSR president takes office.

The text of the resolution indicates the date for convening the next congress—21 May—and for the election of the RSFSR president—12 June 1991.

At a news conference during the recess, S. Goryacheva, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, stated that B. Yeltsin's "grabbing" of additional powers and his desire to obtain as much power as possible overshadowed other items on the agenda. She had no comment to make on the change in mood at the congress, which expressed a high degree of confidence in the man whom it was planned to oust.

Talking on this subject at the request of IZVESTIYA's correspondent, N. Cherepkov, a member of the "Communists of Russia" faction and one of the 272 deputies at whose request the extraordinary congress was convened, said that he entirely supports the granting of additional powers to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet chairman and the republic's organs of state power. N. Cherepkov believes that even if B. Yeltsin had requested more rights, they should have been granted to him, since his responsibility as state leader is only too great.

Immediately after the recess, B. Isayev, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, on behalf of the "Six" who signed the political statement, asked the congress to vote on the question of confidence in the opposition members of the Russian legislature's Presidium, and declared their readiness to resign. The chairman refused to grant this request, and the congress returned to discussing the problems of the RSFSR's national-state structure and the conclusion of the Union treaty.

On 5 April the congress continued the discussion of one of the most complex and delicate questions concerning the RSFSR's internal state structure. In the course of the debates two viewpoints predominated, reflecting different conceptual approaches to the problem. Representatives of kray and oblast soviet organs mainly demanded that the federal treaty enshrine the principle of the complete equality of all components of the federation. Representatives of autonomous republics, former autonomous formations, and, as a rule, the RSFSR's highest organs of power spoke of the need to give the components of the federation equal socioeconomic rights, while granting greater political rights to the republics belonging to the RSFSR. Obviously the second viewpoint is more justified, otherwise the RSFSR would have 88 Supreme Soviets, Councils of Ministers, and so forth.

The complex situation with the national-state structure of the RSFSR, which arose after the "parade of sovereignties" swept through the republic hot on the heels of the Union, was exacerbated still further after the publication of the draft Union treaty. It grants to republics belonging to the RSFSR and located within its territory the right to sign the Union treaty independently, bypassing the Russian Federation's delegation, and to issue laws that will take priority over RSFSR laws.

One must agree with the opinion of S. Shakhray, chairman of the Russian legislature's Committee on Legislation, who assessed these articles of the draft Union treaty as being designed to bring about Russia's disintegration. In today's conditions the granting of such rights, like the adoption of proposals on reviewing borders between the components of the federation, threatens to plunge Russia into a chaotic situation of mutual claims and suspicion.

S. Shakhray proposed that before questions of the Union are tackled, the problems of the RSFSR's national-state structure should be settled through equal talks with all the republics located on its territory. Only after the extent of the federation's powers has been determined will it become clear what rights should be delegated to the USSR, he said. The republics belonging to the RSFSR could sign the Union treaty as part of the RSFSR delegation, which will also include representatives of other national-territorial formations, krays, and oblasts.

S. Shakhray went on to say that the high degree of national consensus necessary to resolve nationalities issues in a way that is satisfactory to everyone must be achieved through a long and equal dialogue among all components of the federation, rather than trying to achieve this at a stroke at the congress. Many speakers supported this view.

Draft resolutions "On the Basic Principles of the RSFSR's National-State Structure (On the Federal Treaty)" and "On the Union Treaty and the Procedure for Signing It" were adopted as a basis and passed to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet for further work in the light of the observations made. The Russian legislature was instructed to submit to the next congress its proposals on the procedure for signing the federal and Union treaties.

The congress approved the appointment of RSFSR General Prosecutor V. Stepankov.

B.N. Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, delivered a concluding speech at the congress. He held a news conference after the end of the congress.

PRAVDA on Deputies' Comments

PM0904101991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Apr 91 First Edition pp 1,2

[Report by N. Musiyenko under the "Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow" rubric: "Deputies Make Assessments. Following the Russian Congress"]

[Excerpts] Last Friday the extraordinary Congress of Russian Federation People's Deputies concluded its work. The sharp debates that took place in the Great

Kremlin Palace are still fresh in the memory of everyone that witnessed them. The near future will show whether the decisions adopted here will have a positive effect. But how do the people's representatives themselves assess the results of the congress fights?

G. Dorofeyev, Military Pilot (Voronezh Oblast)

"The hopes placed on the congress by the initiative group which demanded that it be convened ahead of schedule fortunately did not come about. I have in mind its desire to call to account the objectionable chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet and his team, and then remove them. Instead, in my opinion, a different, more important task was carried out—finding a way out of the crisis.

"The congress adopted a decision to give extraordinary powers to the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium and the head of the republic legislature. This was a cardinal step. Without fear or doubt people took an enormous responsibility on themselves. The transitional period before the presidential form of rule, whose need is dictated by life itself, is beginning. I hope that this measure will finally lead to the stabilization of the situation in the economy and the social sphere.

"And it is also worth noting the following aspect. The congress has shown again that the republic needs a permanently operating legislative organ. A two-stage system of supreme state power in the form of the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet is extremely awkward and inefficient, and I am not the only one to think so. We are constantly late in adopting the necessary decisions. If we had a permanent parliament on a professional basis, we would not have to convene an extraordinary congress for the umpteenth time." [passage omitted]

M. Karev, Pediatric Surgeon (Komsomolsk-na-Amure)

"Many people believe that it was those who were dreaming of removing B. Yeltsin and his supporters from power who felt the need to convene an extraordinary congress. This was absolutely not the case. It was simply that the socioeconomic situation in the republic is such that we had to immediately have a thorough discussion on measures that would rapidly get us out of the crisis. And I think that in this sense the congress carried out its task.

"I assess the resolution we adopted following the debates on B. Yelstin's report as completely satisfactory. It will undoubtedly stimulate more intensive work on the part of the Russian Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers, whose effect, I hope, we will all perceive.

"But I did not like at all the political intrigues that unfolded at the congress on both the left and the right."

O. Savitskiy, Chairman of the "Rodina" Kolkhoz (Samara Oblast)

"It is a great shame that the subject matter of the congress debates frequently boiled down to to wrangles between the representatives of various deputies' groups. And not enough time was devoted to the main thing that was worth discussing—purely economic problems.

"Or take a very serious issue such as the federative treaty. Only a few hours were devoted to discussing it, and this was on the last day when the deputies were already in the mood to go home. On the other hand, the first two days were spent getting things moving, sorting out the agenda of the congress, and stirring up passions about the ban on rallies and demonstrations.

"The fact that the congress granted Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin additional powers also puts me very much on my guard. Maybe a fear of dictatorship, tyranny, and lawlessness has been sown in all our genes by now, but to be honest I am afraid that this decision may turn out to be a fatal one for many Russians. After all, abuse against the Communists pours constantly from the lips of B. Yeltsin and those on his side. Yes, I am a Communist and I am not ashamed to say so out loud. In what way am I personally guilty before the people? In that I work hard without sparing myself, in that I managed to noticeably improve things in my farm in a few years of work as chairman of the kolkhoz? Why should I be responsible for the actions of people who ran the country and led it to the end of its tether?"

Rear Admiral R. Chebotarevskiy (Murmansk Oblast)

"B. Yeltsin himself made a good assessment of this congress when he once said the following: 'We will sit down for two weeks, have a chat, and then go our separate ways.'

"Only the secret intentions of the esteemed chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet came true—he received the extraordinary powers he so desired. Now everything depends on how sensibly he will use them. Although I believe that even before, the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Supreme Soviet itself and its chairman had quite enough rights to be able to stop the devastation that is overwhelming our republic. And we can see the contrary—not only has the crisis not been overcome—it has been exacerbated. A great deal of the blame for this, of course, lies with Boris Nikolayevich.

Silayev Discusses Congress

LD0804075591 Moscow Central Television Second Program Network in Russian 1025 GMT 6 Apr 91

[Remarks by Ivan Stepanovich Silayev, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers, in response to viewers' questions read by announcer—live or recorded; monitored in progress]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] [passage omitted] The Congress ended yesterday. You were at the Congress practically

every day, and the Congress was difficult, that's how I'd describe it. What good has come of the Congress for the executive power of Russia? In what ways has the Congress helped to promote the economic program of which you spoke?

[Silayev] Yes, you're right, Yelena Vasilyevna. It was a difficult Congress; I'd say it was a hard Congress, and in some degree also unpredictable, because I'd say its suddenness and its emergency character already meant that there would be great tension and uncertainty and, I would say, alarm. But, it has to be said, to the credit of the people's deputies, that it ended on, I'd say, a note of optimism, though right up to the last question and the last moments of the Congress, shall we say, there was very controversial and very serious work being done and, at times, a struggle and conflicts. To me, that's the very thing that was positive about it, and I think the Congress is going to play a positive role in our future destiny, the future destiny of the Russian Federation, and not only that, but also of the country as a whole. It ended on a note of consolidation. Now, to answer you question: A consolidation of forces is just what the executive power greatly needs. The Congress approved the program that was proposed; it gave instructions for further serious work to be done on it; interesting arguments were presented by the relevant groups at the Congress, arguments which may be considered in various parts of the program. This is also a movement of consolidation. So, to give a direct answer to your question as to what the Congress achieved for the executive power and, in particular, for the Council of Ministers: It gave us the hope that we can work with greater confidence and resolve our tasks by consolidating on the main aims and tasks of the Russian republic.

[Announcer] [passage omitted] The question was raised of the strike by miners belonging to the Russian Federation. The wish or possibility was expressed that the mines situated on the territory of the RSFSR should come under RSFSR jurisdiction. Has this happened? What will be the advantage of it to the striking miners? What will they not gain by it?

[Silayev] let me say first that this process, this movement of the miners, can be said to have also worked, visibly or invisibly, together with the Congress and influenced the determination of positions and the level of the work as a whole, sometimes in the direction of exacerbation, sometimes of softening, shall we say, certain confrontations. As you remember, the Congress decided and instructed the Council of Ministers to set to work on preparing this very serious decision.

But, at the same time, it does contain a number of considerations, especially of a current character, which merit attention. In general, we're open to any suggestions if they fit into our strategy of moving vigorously toward market relations. We've been given a month, and we've got to finalize this program, taking the discussion into account, and submit it to the Supreme Soviet in a month. So, we are willing to cooperate with any movements, political or social, if there is something interesting which complements and strengthens; we're willing, and they are welcome to participate in our work.

[Announcer] [passage omitted] Journalist German Ivanovich Belousov, of Moscow, says it is quite obvious that Russia's main problems now will be in the autonomous republics. Are any economic programs being developed which will be attractive to the autonomous republics?

[Silayev] German Ivanovich asks a very good question. You are quite right, German Ivanovich. But, I will answer in this way: Very soon, in acordance with a decision of the Congress, our program, the program of the government of the Russian Federation, will be published in the media. There, you'll see that very serious attention has been paid to this issue. There is a special section on cooperation with our autonomous formations and republics and with the economic and territorial regions. There, we bank on a high decree of economic independence and producers and entrepreneurs cooperating directly with the local authorities. I would ask you to read that section of the program attentively, and then our position on the autonomous regions will be quite clear to you.

[Announcer] Here is a very fundamental and interesting question from Albert Mikhaylovich Zaboleyevich, from Mineralnyye Vody. As is known, additional powers have been allocated. How is the RSFSR Council of Ministers going to run its Russian state? How is the Council of Ministers going to be fulfilling decisions of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and how are RSFSR Supreme Soviet and RSFSR Council of Ministers decisions going to be married up with the actions of the Pavlov Cabinet of Ministers? They are essentially contradictory.

[Silayev] Comrade Albert Mikhaylovich Zaboleyevich has certainly raised quite a number of issues and problems in one go!

[Announcer] Fundamental ones.

[Silayev] Yes, fundamental ones! Everyone indeed saw and heard how impassioned the debate was on Boris Nikolayevich's recent proposal on the reallocation of powers. It is unthinkable that our program can be implemented in isolation and on its own, without cooperation. That includes cooperation with the center. In this regard, perhaps not everyone saw or heard Boris Nikolayevich's closing speech yesterday. I'd like to recall his very serious words and intentions, and I'll read them out if you don't mind. Boris Nikolayevich said: I share the alarm about relations between Russia and the center which was voiced in speeches by deputies. The USSR president and the Union leadership should know that no differences, however intense they may be, will be an obstacle to businesslike cooperation between the Union and Russian leadership. That is a very serious statement, and I think that it is of profound significance. In fact, for the Russian Government, the Supreme Soviet, and the leadership it is of fundamental importance. What is

involved once again is an intention, amid the plethora of what are perhaps fundamental differences, to seek the possibility of agreement and cooperation. Our program, in fact, is very much in tune with the necessity of agreement with the center, our central structures, the president, and prime minister on the fundamental issues. We are counting on that in a big way. So, we don't imagine that anything more can be done via confrontation and being at loggerheads with each other. One very important aspect of the recent congress was what was summed up and vested in that very brief but very potent phrase of Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin's about the need to cooperate.

[Announcer] Ivan Stepanovich, I'd like you to reply to the second part of the question, because it's a fundamental matter. I'll just paraphrase it. Do you think that the actions of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers, the Pavlov cabinet, and those of the RSFSR Cabinet of Ministers are mutually contradictory, and that the new program contradicts the measures currently being taken by the USSR Government?

[Silayev] I know I didn't answer that question.

[Announcer] It's a difficult one.

[Silayev] Yes, I'll deal with all this now. I can only say that our work today and tomorrow is going to proceed on the basis of mutual relations founded on different principles. We intend to cooperate with all groups and political and public tendencies of the Russian Federation that were represented at the congress and which are represented in the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. Moreover, in the next few days we are going to organize a structure within the Council of Ministers which is going to cooperate and work with all public and political organizations. Thus, through these organizations and through the search for consolidation, we are going to be cooperating with the prime minister and the cabinet, among others. After all, the situation isn't that the cabinet goes its own way, the RSFSR Council of Ministers goes its, and all the other tendencies in the Supreme Soviet go theirs. All of them either very seriously cooperate or are somehow seriously at odds with each other, and I think now is a convenient moment for all of us to take sensible advantage of the positive outcome of the congress. We should be more cooperative toward one another and work more effectively on the basis of mutual understanding. I'm talking of Pavlov and Silayev, and Yeltsin and Gorbachev. The point is that it is unthinkable for us to continue to seek out shortcomings in each other and keep finding counterarguments.

My view is that today everyone should work for Russia. If Russia gets back on its feet and becomes economically strong, everyone will be well off for that. So, we must cast aside all grudges and confrontation pursued on principle and concentrate on dealing with this important matter. So, we are full of optimism that we will succeed in working more fruitfully with the Cabinet of Ministers. For instance, as I intend it, I will be approaching the president, who is the head of executive authority in the Union. We will prepare a number of proposals in the very near future, and I intend to take them to both Mikhail Sergeyevich and Valentin Sergeyevich and suggest that we cooperate and ask for their support on the fundamental things that we need to do to implement our economic program.

'Russian Communists' Satisfied

LD0504202191 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1600 GMT 5 Apr 91

[Text] A news conference of the Russian Communists deputies' group, which took place today, was dedicated to the results of the extraordinary Congress of Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] People's Deputies. People's Deputy (Bratishchev), cochairman of the group, and (Saladyukov), a member of the republic's Supreme Soviet and a member of the same deputies' group, and Zyuganov, Politburo member and secretary of the Central Committee of the RSFSR Communist Party, replied to numerous journalists' questions. They said that they are fully satisfied with the results of the extraordinary congress, and stressed at the same time that at the present moment the most important thing is to implement its decisions. They also support the idea of holding a roundtable at the Russian legislature.

Polozkov Interviewed on Speech

PM0704144591 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 Apr 91 First Edition p 1

[Interview with I.K. Polozkov, first secretary of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR, Communist Party Central Committee, by unidentified TASS correspondent "after" his speech at the Third Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies on 2 April; place of interview not given: "To Stop Disintegration"]

[Text] After I.K. Polozkov's speech he was interviewed by a TASS correspondent.

[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA] Ivan Kuzmich, what made you speak at the congress 2 April?

[Polozkov] As you have heard, before the beginning of the congress' work Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin raised the question of ending the congress today. But I had doubts about this, since there was a need not only to adopt a resolution on the report by the chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet and to give an appraisal of the government, but also to discuss the Treaty on the Federative Structure of Russia. That is to say, two big issues which had not been covered and still awaited debate were yet to come.

You saw how intense the battle at the congress was 1 April. It got to the point of verbal assaults and a blockade of the presidium by some democrats. And they tried to explain all this by claiming that the Communists are carrying out destructive work, hatching various plots, trying to overthrow the government, trying to express no

confidence in it, and trying to block the adoption of decisions. But, after all, the draft resolution which was distributed to us on Monday and which many deputies received on the morning of [Tuesday] 2 April, to put it mildly, does not give a principled assessment of the situation in which the republic finds itself today.

Life is becoming increasingly bad with every passing day. The economy is continuing to disintegrate. And no measures are being adopted. At the same time, any proposal by the Communists on this subject, any concrete proposal at all, meets a hostile reception. Moreover, everything is blamed on the fact that we, they say, will not allow them to work. But it is they themselves who are diverting the congress from the main task.

The congress was held in order to make our competent legislative and executive organs carry out a thorough review of the situation in which we find ourselves and adopt specific measures in order to get Russia out of this mess... But once again they have resorted to political squabbles, quarrels, and mutual recriminations. This will produce nothing.

For this reason I made it my task to remove these political passions and return the congress' attention to the adoption of constructive proposals for getting the Russian economy out of its crisis state. The proposed draft resolution contains very many clauses of a purely political character. There are questions in it which can be settled in a year's time or in two years. But today we have to halt the collapse within a month, six weeks, or two months.

Removing the intensity of passions, channeling the congress in a constructive direction, and at the same time exposing the problems which now exist in Russia and pointing out specifically who is responsible for this—this is what I see as the most important thing in the work of our congress.

Abdulatipov Address 31 Mar

91UN1225A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 3 Apr 91 First Edition p 3

[Speech by R.G. Abdulatipov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR, Supreme Soviet, at the Third Extraordinary Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies in Moscow on 31 March: "The Motherland Is Not a Field for Someone's Ambitions"]

[Excerpt] [Abdulatipov] [passage omitted] Russia has gone through most difficult centuries with massive abuses of man and his personality. We should ultimately dissociate ourselves from this legacy, and in this sense I agree with the report by the chairman. We should dissociate ourselves from this legacy, but without humiliating the state and the people. After all, it is a fact that the volume of output of products (I note this because absolutely different facts are quoted endlessly) compared to the United States of America, amounted to 0.3 percent in 1921, 27 percent in 1941, and increased to 80 percent in the postwar years, despite the fact that this was achieved by the most unfit means. However, stagnation set in. It appeared that we could not work any more poorly. This was what we thought. However, the year 1990 showed us that it is possible to work more poorly. We began to work worse yet in 1991. Any country, under any system, overcomes a crisis within five years (look at Chile, China, and other countries). Meanwhile, we are sinking deeper. Now we will have to work for another seven to 10 years in order to attain the level of the peak period of stagnation. In the process, for five years our country has been preoccupied with saving the president. What now—are we going to spend five years saving the chairman? (excitement on the floor.) Should we turn this congress into a show of saving Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin? Do we need this? Would it not be better for them to come to an agreement between themselves and rid us of all these scrapes?

We should abandon the cult mentality and try to analyze the situation with an eye toward finding a way out of the crisis. For many years the country was held captive by tsars, feudal lords, and general and first secretaries, and now it is becoming a captive of presidents and chairmen.

Why should the huge country, and Russia, become a field for the fulfillment of someone's personal ambitions? Why is a policy that we did not develop being forced on us?! All officials are called upon to submit to the will of the Congress and the Supreme Soviet, rather than the other way around. This is the heart of the matter! It turns out that even standing together with the people and demanding an account is a crime! We turn into an enemy. I may understand it when our country goes to sleep with Kashpirovskiy and wakes up with Chumak. (excitement on the floor.) However, when politicians turn into Kashpirovskiys and Chumaks, or the mob turns them into them—this is the way to tragedy. (Noise on the floor, shouting.) Is it justified to rouse the impoverished masses for endless strikes and rallies for the purpose of political gain?! If need be, I may also put 5,000 mountaineers in front of the Spasskiy Gates tomorrow. (Noise on the floor, shouting.) The people will not win by virtue of this! The opinion of the voters and the opinion of the people are sacred for me (I stress this for those who were shouting from the floor at this moment). However, let us also assume responsibility ourselves. Nobody governs the state. The state is governed by anarchy and irresponsibility, which are encouraged by politicians. We have a president who cannot do anything; we have a chairman who is not responsible for anything. (Applause.) In the process, the state and the people are brought to their knees everyday by ukases and slogans.

A bird has to become proud in order to fly. The state honor and the dignity of all people, especially young people, should be restored. We need order and discipline. Instead of this, we scoff at the Army, we spit upon the KGB, and we humiliate all state officials. The notion "patriotism" has become a swear word in our country. It

was precisely about this that I talked at the second congress, long before the well-known political declaration. There was nothing, no dirty trick to the effect that a segment of supporters of Boris Nikolayevich "pull a fast one." However, at this point they no longer "pull fast ones" but simply swing their scythes so that nobody will get involved. Such spectacles may cost the country and the state dearly.

The report by Boris Nikolayevich shows a complete underestimation of the role of the chambers. This is a reflection of the political course we are following. The report would have been greatly enriched had it taken into account the tremendous work already done by the commissions of the chambers. In addition, it is proposed in the chairman's report that accounts by the chambers in the Presidium be heard. How is this to be interpreted? Under what Constitution? It is one matter that the chairmen of the chambers have fallen out of favor.

The role of the Council of the Federation is completely underestimated. Chairmen of the republic Supreme Soviets used to be deputy chairmen of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation and members of the Presidium. Why are we rolling back in this matter?

I believe that an interparliamentary committee and a legal commission, which the chairman of the Supreme Soviet justifiably proposes in his report, should be formed as working organs of the Soviet of Nationalities and the Council of the Federation. Draft laws affecting the interests of the republics, autonomous entities, krays, and oblasts, of all subjects, should be approved and reviewed locally; a program of equalizing the initial conditions of the republics, autonomous entities, krays, and oblasts should be developed. Otherwise, in a market environment some of them will be doomed to eternal backwardness, and this will exacerbate social and interethnic tensions. Incidentally, a pertinent assignment was given to the Council of Ministers. However, the interests of the autonomous entities are not taken into account in the new program which is being proposed as well. The report sidesteps the issue of the situation of the republics of the Russian Federation. Look at this: Except for three or four republics of the Russian Federation, the rest are among the last 10 on the main indicators.

[Chairman] Ramazan Gadzhimuratovich, you have half a minute, all right?

[Abdulatipov] We need to think about the delineation of powers. We have carried out research. Of the 170 risk factors we have done calculations for, 106 result in a trend toward the deterioration of a conflict, and only 26 factors facilitate the overcoming of this situation. This is why I call for taking these aspects into account and looking for a way out through joint efforts.

I believe that the "roundtable" which Boris Nikolayevich proposed should, first of all, be held in our body of deputies. I would ask the chairmen of committees and commissions to address this and become directly involved in a search for means of agreement and for factors to stabilize the use of their authority. I am prepared to support the chairman as well in this endeavor. We should improve relations at all levels. But relations are out of balance here. Having perceived its responsibility, the deputy group needs to proceed toward resolving this problem. Analysis indicates that we are doomed to either cooperation or confrontation. Given this, how can we criticize, insult, and persecute those who are dissatisfied? I will end my speech with these words: It is better to be a dissatisfied Socrates than a satisfied amateur. Thank you for your attention. (Applause.)

Easter Greetings to Patriarch

LD0604195191 Moscow Central Television Second Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 5 Apr 91

[Statement read by Boris Yeltsin, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR, Supreme Soviet, at the Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies in the Moscow Kremlin on 5 April—recorded]

[Text] Well, of course, the people's deputies are already tired, I understand. To slow down the pace and the rhythm a little, I suggest that we pass the following congratulatory message:

To the Most Holy Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia Aleksiy the Second:

Your Holiness: The Congress of People's Deputies of the RSFSR congratulates you, and through you, the entire Russian Orthodox Church, on the Easter of Christ, and expresses the hope that this festival, the most revered one among Christians, will serve to pacify and mollify embittered hearts and to achieve concord among nationalities and a spiritual rebirth of the peoples of the Russian Federation. [applause]

Shall we send such a message? [applause, shouts of "Yes"] Well, let us just vote by a show of hands. Who is in favor? Good. Who is against? I do not see any...What, microphone No. 2, are you aaginst? No? Let us then send it at once.

Yeltsin Meets Dagestan Deportees' Group

LD0804190991 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1600 GMT 8 Apr 91

[Text] A meeting has taken place between Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet Chairman Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin and a delegation of peoples from Novolakskiy and Kazbekovskiy rayons of Dagestan who were forcibly deported in 1944. Taking part in the meeting were Abdulatipov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet; Magomedov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Dagestan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR]; Abdulbasirov, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Dagestan ASSR, as well as Aukhovtsev, a representative of Chechens repressed in 1944, and RSFSR People's Deputy Dzhamaldinov.

Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin listened attentively to representatives of the deported peoples and appealed to them to show wisdom and patience. He also proposed that the Soviet of Nationalities of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet study the problem thoroughly, visiting local areas, and work out a mechanism for coordinating the interests of all interested parties.

'Communists for Democracy' Member Interviewed

LD0904081691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1715 GMT 8 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow, 8 Apr (TASS)—The "Communists for Democracy" group set up at the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet considers it necessary to start an all-party discussion on confidence in the party leadership and also to arrive at convening a new CPSU Congress, electing delegates on a democratic basis, and to reelect the Russian Communist Party's current leadership. This is what Boris Pugachev, professor of the Academy of Social Sciences of the CPSU Central Committee and one of the authors of program documents of the new legislative group, said in an interview with TASS correspondent German Zverev.

"Perhaps in May a conference of communists supporting the platform of the program statement of the 28th congress will take place in Moscow. We do not intend to repeat the way of the Democratic platform and will not leave the CPSU: Let the conservatives leave."

In Boris Pugachev's words, more than 170 RSFSR people's deputies make up the "Communists for Democracy" group: military, heads of industrial enterprises, scientists, internal affairs and state security staff. "We reckon to get support of several million communists, and we believe that our opposition will be especially popular in labor collectives of industrial enterprises and among the intelligentsia."

Western Republics

Belorussia Admits 'Errors' in Price Reforms

LD0804205191 Minsk Domestic Service in Belorussian 0300 GMT 6 Apr 91

[Text] The Presidium of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic [BSSR] Supreme Soviet has adopted a resolution on serious shortcomings in carrying out the retail price reforms and securing social protection of the population of the republic. It stresses that the government of the republic, local soviets of people's deputies and leaders of the enterprises and organisations made serious errors in carrying out the reform. Leaders of the working collectives did not use their right and possibilities for compensation of additional expenses of the workers in connection with increased prices on goods of first necessity and services from the enterprises' and organizations' own sources. Irresponsibility was shown by the BSSR Ministry of Trade. The revaluation of goods was carried out in an untimely fashion, first of all on those goods on which permissible levels had been set. Their timely delivery to the retail networks was not secured. Goods at contractual prices were not put on sale first of all.

The Presidium of the BSSR Supreme Soviet outlined a number of measures for improving the situation in the republic.

Adopts 'Social Protection' Measures

LD0804181191 Minsk Domestic Service in Belorussian 0300 GMT 8 Apr 91

[Text] The Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic [BSSR] Council of Ministers has adopted a resolution on additional measures for social protection of the republic's population in connection with the retail price increases, which includes proposals of the working collectives and of the council of the federation of the USSR trade unions. The resolution envisages starting from April 1991, step-by-step increases in wages of employees of the associations, enterprises, and organizations of the industrial branches of economy, by making use of the profits, which remain at their disposal. At the same time, it is necessary to take measures to improve production organization, labor productivity, and quality and competitiveness of the enterprises.

To support families with children, the envisaged allowances will increase: for children under six—up to 360 rubles [R]; six to 13—up to R400; and 13 to 18—up to R460 per year. This measure will help to prevent the population's losses in acquiring consumer goods for children, including school uniforms, without reconsidering the new prices.

For looking after children under three, provided they do not attend preschool establishments, mothers are paid compensation of R60 per month. Previous payments for keeping a child in a preschool establishment are being preserved. The 5-percent sales tax is also abolished on food and goods privately produced. The relevant departments are charged with the task of solving the question of cheaper food in students' and schools' canteens and buffets. The enterprises are allowed to use a part of their profits to make food in factory canteens cheaper. To create conditions for compensational payments, starting from the second quarter of 1991, the enterprises will cut the size of amortization deductions and resources to the road fund [dorozhnyy fond].

A number of tasks have been assigned to the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Trade, the BSSR Consumers' Cooperation, [Belpotrebkooperatsiya] and other departments to liquidate present shortcomings in taxation, organize trade, and introduce proper order into the entire system of trade.

Importance was attached to the necessity of accelerating the process of privatization of property in the economy's branches, including the immediate granting of land to all those who so desire.

It is recommended that the working collectives set up conciliatory commissions at the enterprises from the workers' representatives, the trade union committees, and the administration for carrying out this resolution of the BSSR Council of Ministers in line with the specific conditions of each enterprise.

Independent Moldovan Communist Party Established

LD0804205291 Moscow TASS in English 1936 GMT 8 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Fedor Angeliy]

[Text] Kishinev April 8 TASS—An independent Moldovan Communist Party (on a democratic platform) was proclaimed here today. This means the split of the Moldovan Communist Party according to the ethnic principle. A similar split took place in the Baltic republics previously.

A coordinating committee was set up by a conference that was held here. The committee includes Vice-President of the Moldovan parliament Viktor Pushkashch.

Speakers at the conference stressed that the new Communist Party "will have no relations with the Soviet Communist Party. It will campaign for Moldova's full sovereignty, against the centre's 'imperial' policy aimed at the preservation of the Soviet Union".

Conference documents claim that the party will be a "party of parliamentary democracy and socialist orientation. Any Moldovan citizen or citizens of other states living in the republic may become its members".

New Party Publishes Rules

LD0804201691 Moscow TASS in English 1521 GMT 8 Apr 91

[Text] Kishinev April 8 TASS—The local press today published the draft rules of the Independent Moldovan Communist Party (IMCP), which was established after a democratic wing of the party withdrew from the Moldovan Communist Party. The IMCP also decided to withdrew from the Soviet Communist Party.

According to the MOLDOVA-PRESS news agency, the draft rules note that the independent party is guided by its own programme documents based on "human principles of democratic socialism".

The IMCP will "dismantle the totalitarian structures of state socialism through resolute but peaceful reforms".

The draft rules provide for abandoning the principles of democratic centralism and offer its members the principle of democratic unity, which means that party activities will be coordinated both vertically and horizonally.

"There will be an equal dialogue between all party members and a consensus".

The document does not preclude the establishment of groups and clubs inside the party and guarantees their equality in discussing any issues and non-obligatory nature of decisions taken by the majority vote.

The preamble to the draft rules notes that the party's name is not final. The final say on this issue as well as on other provisions of the rules will be made by the republican conference which opened in Kishinev today at the initiative of the IMCP.

Caucasus

Georgian Republic Declares Independence From Union

Adopted at Supreme Soviet

LD0904093891 Moscow TASS in English 0934 GMT 9 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi April 9 TASS—At its extraordinary session here today, the Supreme Soviet of the Georgian Republic unanimously adopted a declaration proclaiming state independence for Georgia.

This document is based on the declaration of Georgia's independence of May 26, 1918, when national minorities of the former Russian empire were granted the right to self-determination.

By this move, Georgia followed the example of the Baltic republics, which are seeking a secession from the Soviet Union.

Further on Independence Declaration

LD0904144891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1330 GMT 9 Apr 91

[Text] Tbilisi, 9 Apr (TASS)—Georgia has declared state independence. A declaration on this was unanimously adopted at an extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet of this Transcaucasian republic today.

At the heart of the adopted document has been placed the declaration on Georgia's independence of 26 May 1918, when the ethnic minorities of the former Russian empire were granted the right to self-determination.

As SAKINFORM, the Georgian information agency, reports, the declaration notes that the Supreme Soviet of Georgia "rests upon the will of the population of the republic which was expressed unanimously by it in the referendum on 31 March 1991."

During this referendum, in which, according to the data of the republican electoral commission, 90.57 percent of the electorate took part, 99.08 percent of those who voted answered the question of the restoration of Georgia's statehood affirmatively.

The act stresses that "the territory of the sovereign republic of Georgia is unified and indivisible." It "recognizes and guarantees equally all the basic rights and freedoms of man provided for by international law. Regardless of race, sex, language, creed, political and other convictions, national and social origin, property status, etc."

The legislature of Georgia states that it will "observe firmly the commonly acknowledged principles of political, economic, and cultural cooperation with other states." Moreover, the hope is expressed that the international community of states will not remain indifferent to the legitimate and just steps of the Georgian people and will recognize Georgia's revived state independence.

The session also adopted an appeal to the peoples of the world and to USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev. A resolution was also adopted on the institution of the post of president of the Republic of Georgia.

Gamsakhurdia Cited

LD0904102691 Moscow World Service in English 1000 GMT 9 Apr 91

[Excerpts] Parliament in the Soviet republic of Georgia on Tuesday unanimously adopted a declaration proclaiming state independence for this republic in the Caucasus, the official TASS news agency reported. [passage omitted]

Zviad Gamsakhurdia, chairman of the parliament, told deputies that the vote did not mean the de facto withdrawal of Georgia from the Soviet Union, that is, the decree does not provide for immediate independence.

Supreme Soviet Session Reported

AU0904135691

Tbilisi Domestic Service in Georgian interrupts its program of light music at approximately 0935 GMT to broadcast a live relay of the extraordinary session of the Georgian Supreme Soviet from the government building in Tbilisi.

A Supreme Soviet deputy gives an Easter greeting, congratulating the assembly on this day of celebration on behalf of the Georgian church.

Another deputy reads the draft address to the people of the world and to Gorbachev:

"On 31 March 1991, a universal referendum was held in the Republic of Georgia as a result of which the population unanimously supported the restoration of Georgia's independence based on the act of independence of 26 May 1918. Expressing the will of the people, the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Georgia, on 9 April 1991, adopted the act of restoration of the state independence of Georgia. The leadership of the Soviet Union has repeatedly used military force against the Georgian people in their struggle along the peaceful path toward independence. This was confirmed by the tragedy of 9 April 1989. On that day, units of the Soviet Army carried out an act of vandalism against young people on hunger strikes to demand Georgian independence. As a result of the use of chemical weapons and D-handled shovels, 20 people were killed, including 15 women. On 29 October 1990, as a result of multiparty elections, the Communist regime was overthrown in Georgia. The Kremlin declared a hostile struggle against the Georgian people which was expressed by an artificially inspired ethnic conflict, an economic and electric power blockade, and the spreading of disinformation concerning the whole of Georgia.

"The Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Georgia addresses the humane people of the world not to ignore the will of the people who are struggling for independence, democracy, and just ideals; not to allow the use of force against them, and to support the recognition and establishment of the Republic of Georgia in mutual friendship with democratic states.

"[Signed] The Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Georgia, Tbilisi, 9 April 1991"

The deputies discuss the draft address. On Gamsakhurdia's recommendation, the number of victims of the 9 April 1989 tragedy is to be changed from "20" to "hundreds." The word "barbaric" to be inserted to describe the action. Further recommendations are indistinct

At 0950 GMT, an indistinct (?draft) address to Gorbachev is read out to the deputies and discussion follows. A representative of Georgian Jews gives a congratulatory address, and a representative of Ingushetia gives an address of congratulations and support.

Gamsakhurdia outlines the draft law on the constitution, and Akaki Asatiani, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet, reads an indistinct resolution on the future appointment of the president.

Gamsakhurdia announces that all the deputies will sign the declaration of independence. The broadcast ends at 1031 GMT.

Georgia Protests Union Troop Presence in Ossetia

Gamsakhurdia Contacts Leaders

AU0804171091 Tbilisi Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 8 Apr 91

[Letter from Georgian Supreme Soviet Chairman Gamsakhurdia to USSR President Gorbachev and USSR Supreme Soviet Chairman Lukyanov]

[Text] An additional contingent of Soviet Army troops and internal troops of the USSR Interior Ministry was deployed on the territory of the former South Ossetian Autonomous Region in the past few days. In accordance with the statement by Colonel Aleksandrov, who has arrived from Moscow, these troops will not be subordinated to the Georgian Ministry of Internal Affairs or to the commandant appointed by it. Moreover, distrust was

expressed not only to them but also to units of the division of the USSR Interior Ministry internal troops stationed in Tbilisi. They were ordered to leave Tskhinvali together with the Georgian militia.

Ossetian extremists perceived all this as support and moved to take decisive actions. At 1300 GMT on 5 April, the Georgian villages of Tamarasheni, Achabeti, Kemerti, Khlevi, and others were attacked, from all directions, by the extremists supported by units of the internal troops and their armored personnel carriers. Two residents of Tamarasheni were killed: Elbasisi and Mitriaveli. Three persons were wounded.

On the same night, on the road [words indistinct], Kurkhan Dartashvili and Tatishvili, residents of the village of [name indistinct] were killed. This is obvious aggression against the Republic of Georgia. Genocide of its population continues. As is known, the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Georgia tried to find ways for a dialogue and truce; however, nationwide indignation is on the rise. It was further reinforced by the serious deterioration in housing conditions, a price increase, and the blockade imposed by the center. As a result of all of this, on the initiative of the Roundtable political organizations and of the working people of Georgia, a general political strike of workers, employees, railroad workers, and sailors supporting all the demands of the striking working people in the USSR is being prepared in the republic. In connection with the former South Ossetian Autonomous Region, the strikers' committees are demanding that the military aggression against the Republic of Georgia be stopped and the following measures be implemented: First, the Soviet Army units and the additional contingent of the internal troops of the USSR Interior Ministry that were brought from various parts of the Soviet Union must be withdrawn from the former South Ossetian Autonomous Region; second, the Tskhinvali commandant and his deputy nominated by the Georgian Interior Ministry must be returned; and third, the Ruk mountain pass and the tunnel must be permanently closed.

Union Asked Not To Use Force

AU0804170991 Tbilisi Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 8 Apr 91

[Statement by the Republic of Georgia Supreme Soviet Presidium; place and date not given]

[Text] Blatantly defying Georgian sovereignty, a limited contingent of regular Soviet units is being brought into the town of Tskhinvali. On the eve of this action, we expressed a hope that the USSR leadership will refrain from further destabilization of the situation in the said region. It is well known to the Soviet and world public what tragic consequences the deployment of a limited contingent caused in Afghanistan. We also have our own experience of how servicemen were used against the people. Over decades, the dictatorial and totalitarian regime, which has led the country to a material and spiritual impoverishment, blamed all the misfortunes befalling Soviet society on an external enemy. Lately, under the conditions of economic devastation, the image of an internal enemy is being fostered in the person of the democratic movement and in the person of those peoples, which have embarked upon the path of the realization of the right of nations to self-determination.

The new democratic government of Georgia did not declare the republic's intention to immediately secede from the Soviet Union, although it has this right in accordance with the USSR Constitution. It made an obligation not to annul its economic or other ties with other republics during the transitional period of time specified in our republic. Moreover, we repeatedly declared that in the future, after we obtain full state independence, we are going to maintain close economic and cultural relations with Russia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and our close neighbors, as well as with other republics. We assumed that our constructive position would meet with due understanding on the part of the Union leadership. However, the latter increasingly tends to resolve political, economic, social, and national problems of the country by force.

An impression arises that certain circles have decided to divert the attention of the peoples of the Soviet Union from the empty store shelves and from the mass demonstrations and strikes that have spread throughout the country by creating a new Afghanistan on Georgian land. We are expressing a hope that, in this critical time, the USSR Government will show common sense and will not initiate new intervention against Georgia or a civil war in its own country.

Union Troops Break Blockade

PM0804191591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Apr 91 Union Edition p 1

["on-the-spot" report by special correspondent V. Litovskiy: "Tskhinvali Blockade Broken"]

[Text] The economic blockade of the city of Tskhinvali, which had lasted more than three months, was broken 7 April, virtually without a shot being fired, by USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] internal troops. Food is on its way to South Ossetia.

On a large-scale map of South Ossetia you can see that it is no more than 25 km from the rayon center of Dzhava to the oblast center of Tskhinvali. No distance at all by car.

This stretch of road or, more precisely, the 4 km of it between the villages of Itrapisi and Kekhva had become an obstacle to any motor transport, and not just because you were fired on by gunmen. Three obstacles made up of many tonnes of granite blocks were laid across the winding road, which snakes along towering crags above the Liakhva River, and a ditch 2 meters deep and 3 meters across was created by use of explosives. Certain sections were mined.

Flour, other foodstuffs, fuel, and medicine could not get through from Vladikavkaz to Tskhinvali along the mountainous Rokskiy Pass, the sole route connecting the city with the outside world. For more than three months the inhabitants of the city and servicemen and members of their families lived virtually on starvation rations. The sole link provided by military helicopters could not solve all the problems.

It took around 36 hours of nonstop work by USSR MVD internal troops and their sapper and engineering subunits to clear the road of obstacles, fill in the ditch, and remove the mines. The inhabitants of Dzhavskiy Rayon, through which these sections run, provided great assistance in this work. Troops of the internal forces and the union militia simultaneously took the road under their protection.

The route from Vladikavkaz to Tskhinvali via Dzhava has been opened for motor transport. The first group of 96 trucks arrived on the central square of the city of Tskhinvali toward evening on Sunday 7 April. The trucks carried almost 700 tonnes of flour, sugar, pasta, cigarettes, canned meat, and other food. Including humanitarian aid sent to the beleaguered inhabitants of South Ossetia by FRG citizens.

Colonel A. Kotlyarov, deputy chief of staff of the USSR MVD Internal Forces, one of those directly involved in organizing the lifting of the blockade, said the following:

"It was necessary to clear and secure the road, ensure the passage of the truck convoys carrying freight, and, most importantly, protect our people. I am glad that the operation has had a successful conclusion. Despite opposition en route, all the vehicles reached their goal, and the main thing is that the blockade of Tskhinvali is now lifted and its population have received food aid. I hope that this route will operate without interruption."

It remains to be added that the USSR MVD internal troops were met with hospitality in many villages along the route and were presented with painted Easter eggs and cakes: The operation to lift the blockade fell on the Easter holiday.

...As I file this report, power has again been cut off in the city and there is no power in the hospitals and the bread combine. Another difficult day is beginning....

Increased Shooting Reported

LD0904131291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1107 GMT 9 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz, 9 Apr (TASS)—The situation in South Ossetia, which is part of the Republic of Georgia, remains extremely tense. There have been intensive exchanges of gunfire between the warring sides, the Georgians and Ossetians, in the outskirts of Tskhinvali, the administrative center, and the villages. From the village of Tamarsheni, which is near Tskhinvali, pickets from illegally armed Georgian formations are continually firing upon residential areas using heavy machine guns, grenade launchers, and unguided missiles. The Ossetian volunteer militia defending the towns are returning fire. There are dead and wounded on both sides.

As before, the town is surrounded by guerrillas who are well-armed and equipped. According to information from the North Ossetian Ministry of Internal Affairs, their number exceeds 15,000 people. Additional forces of pickets from other areas of Georgia are being moved up toward them along the Znaurskiy highway.

The food problem has worsened in Tskhinvali, particularly in the last few days. Flour stocks have run out at the local bakery combine. For the third day, electricity is not reaching the town from the unified Georgian system, and the supply of water and gas is limited. As it is getting warmer in the mountains and the snow is melting rapidly, a real threat of an outbreak of an epidemic will add to the food difficulties in the emergency area. This is the fourth month that main services have not functioned in the town, and local people are drawing drinking water from unpurified sources and wells. All burials of Ossetians who have died as a result of the shooting and armed clashes have taken place not at cemeteries, but in the courtyards of houses and hospitals and in garden plots.

As a TASS correspondent was told today by Sergey Khetagurov, chairman of the North Ossetia Council of Ministers, last night a convoy of vehicles carrying humanitarian aid from krays, oblasts, and republics of the Soviet Union, and also carrying goods from the FRG, escorted by armored transports of subunits of the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] internal troops, broke through to Tskhinvali from the Dzhava settlement. Residents of the blockaded town and numerous refugees gave a warm welcome to the servicemen and the drivers of the heavy trucks, who had risked their lives deliverying food for them.

All roads leading to besieged Tskhinvali are controlled by the Georgian side, while the bridges blown up by terrorists have not yet been repaired along the by-pass route. Several dozen trucks carrying food remain in Dzhava. They are being guarded by subunits of the USSR MVD Internal Troops, since instances of their being stolen and pillaged by guerrillas have become more frequent in the last few days. Some 1,500 tonnes of humanitarian aid for South Ossetia has already arrived in North Ossetia.

A special commission of investigators and experts from the USSR MVD has begun work in the villages of the oblast. It is gathering evidence, including material evidence, about the crime of guerrillas. A well-attended meeting of residents and refugees in Tskhinvali adopted an appeal to the leadership of the Soviet state to take urgent steps to introduce a state of emergency throughout the territory of South Ossetia, using exclusively the forces of the USSR MVD Internal Troops.

Georgian Officer Corps Seeks Ossetian Action

AU0504184391 Tbilisi VESTNIK GRUZII in Russian 29 Mar 91 p 1

[Sakinform report: "Joint Declaration" by the Council of the Officer Corps of Georgia and the Action Committee of Officers of Ossetian Nationality]

[Text] A meeting took place between the Council of the Officer Corps of Georgia and the Action Committee of Officers of Ossetian Nationality on 25 March 1991, and a joint declaration was adopted. It reads, in particular, the following:

1. We condemn the actions of Ossetian separatists and believe they are being instigated by the center for the purpose of preventing the Republic of Georgia from restoring its independence, which was taken away from it by force in February 1921.

The center, using a small group of Ossetian separatists, is sacrificing the Ossetian and Georgian peoples in Samachablo to the rotten system of Communist totalitarianism.

2. We are calling upon residents of Samachablo to immediately stop and never resume the fratricidal war. The illegal armed formations must immediately leave the territory of Samachablo, and those citizens who illegally possess weapons must hand them over to the organs of the Georgian Ministry of Internal Affairs.

3. We believe that mass participation in the republican referendum of 31 March 1991 and the support given to the legislature of the Republic in its efforts to restore Georgian independence will be a pledge of the peace that is to come and of mutual friendship and respect.

4. We are calling upon all officers residing in the town of Tskhinvali and in neighboring regions to conduct explanatory work among the population and to tell it that Georgia is the homeland of many peoples of various nationalities who have traditionally been in brotherly relations with Georgians, in spite of religious or other differences existing between them.

It is essential for everybody to realize that we can obtain genuine civic freedom only in an independent, sovereign, and united Georgia.

5. We propose, to resolve the problems that are arising in a legal and just manner, that the reserve and retired officers who reside in the town of Tskhinvali should form an organizing body for the creation of the Council of the Tskhinvali rayon branch of the Georgian Officer Corps that will closely interact with the prefect, who has been nominated, and the Sakrebulo [assembly—name of the new organ of local power], which has been elected, to the benefit of all residents of the rayon.

[Signed] On the behalf of the Georgian Officer Corps: Kutateladze, chairman of the council, reserve colonel; deputy chairmen: Lakiya, reserve lieutenant-colonel; Mikautidze, reserve major; members of the council: Magaltadze, reserve colonel; Dzabunidze, reserve colonel; Chutlashvili, reserve lieutenant- colonel.

On the behalf of the Action Committee of the group of officers of Ossetian nationality: Karkuzashvili, retired colonel; Tibilashvili, retired lieutenant-colonel; Kumaritov, reserve lieutenant-colonel; Gazayev, reserve major; Bestayev, retired senior lieutenant.

Gamasakhurdia Calls for Caucasus Peoples' Forum

AU0904092691 Tbilisi VESTNIK GRUZII in Russian 23 March 91 p 2

[Address to the peoples of the Caucasus by Zviad Gamsakhurdia, speaker for the "Roundtable—Free Georgia" and chairman of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Soviet; place and date not given]

[Text] The Caucasus, with its diversity, original culture, firmly established traditions of interethnic relations, unique history, landscape, and flora and fauna, is a rare phenomenon of world significance. Throughout the whole history of the coexistence of the peoples of the Caucasus, in spite of their different origins and religions, such phenomena as ethnic hatred and so-called "ethnic conflicts" were alien until the Caucasus was perfidiously overrun by fire and sword by the cruelest and slyest of empires—the Russian empire. The modernized communist empire has "worthily" continued along the path laid down by tsarism that sowed the seeds of enmity, distrust, and hatred between the peoples of the Caucasus. To a certain degree, it has achieved its aim: It has so skillfully set the peoples of the Caucasus against one another that, today, almost all of them blame those living alongside them for all the misfortunes that have been inflicted upon them by the empire.

The center is using the so-called "ethnic conflicts" to the detriment of the freedom-loving and proud peoples of the Caucasus and is curbing their desire for independence and genuine sovereignty. As a result of the center's malicious intrigues, relations between conflicting peoples have already become extremely tense and the center is gradually stirring up more hatred between them; there is already bloodshed in some places but the center, with the help of the mass media that it has bribed, is "proving" to the whole world that "without us, these 'wild Caucasian cannibals' would destroy one another." At the same time, by concealing from the whole world the fact that the peoples of the Caucasus have a very ancient culture and humanitarian traditions, they are trying to make it known that they are backward natives.

Dear Peoples of the Caucasus!

It is time we realized all this! We must not fall into the trap that has been laid for us by the center! Let us remind ourselves of the wisdom and foresight of our great ancestors! Let us restore our brotherhood and mutual respect and trust!

The fate of any Caucasian people and issues connected with the peaceful coexistence of all the peoples of the Caucasus should be resolved only in the Caucasus. To do this, however, we must coordinate the national liberation movement of its peoples and engage in dialogue so that we can jointly elaborate a single set of tactics and a strategy of action.

Proceeding from this, the national liberation movement of Georgia on behalf of the "Roundtable—Free Georgia" calls upon the leaders of the national liberation movements of the peoples of the Caucasus to form a forum of Caucasian peoples that will not set as its aim the foundation of some kind of new state-political unit and will not be directed by agents from the center and traitors of the Caucasus. Our aim will be the consolidation of the Caucasus, its liberation from the clutches of the empire and its establishment in the family of free peoples of the world. This will also restore our true friendship with the Russian people, who, themselves, are the victims of totalitarianism and communism.

If you agree to this, we will inform you later as to where and when the constituent meeting of the democratic forum of Caucasian peoples will take place.

Long live the united brotherly family of Caucasian peoples!
God be with us!
With respect and love.

[Signed] Zviad Gamsakhurdia, speaker for the "Roundtable—Free Georgia", chairman of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Soviet

Mountain People Assemble

LD0504221491 Moscow World Service in English 1910 GMT 5 Apr 91

[Text] [Announcer] Sukhumi, capital of the Abkhaz Autonomous Republic within Georgia, has played host to a session of the Assembly of Mountain People in the Caucasus. This public and political organization came into being two years ago, and it unites 60 northern nationalities. It upholds the interests of these small ethnic groups and helps settle disputes that inevitably flare up in this troubled region. Leonid Zhukov has the details:

[Zhukov] The two-day session discussed the economic integration of the southern republics and autonomous entities. A commission was set up to promote the integration. Earlier, an Assembly delegation visited the various republic and autonomous entities of the western and northern Caucasus, where the councils of ministers and local governing bodies volunteered to cooperate. As for the political situation, the Assembly called attention to three hotspots in the Caucasus, including two in Georgia. One is South Ossetia, where an armed conflict is in progress between Georgian militants and the population, upholding its right to autonomy. The other is the Abkhaz Autonomous Republic on the Black Sea coast. The political and ethnic confrontation there took a turn for the worst last month, when two mutually exclusive referendums were held in Abkhazia—one for remaining within the Soviet Union, the other for restoring Georgian independence. Some of the population opted for the Union, but the rest preferred Georgian independence, which implies secession from the Soviet Union.

[Announcer] What also provoked attention was the interference of the Georgian government in Abkhaz affairs. This is how local people see the wish to substitute prefectures for the Abkhaz governing bodies. Leonid Zhukov again:

[Zhukov] A system of more administrative and territorial pressure is being introduced across Georgia. The Georgian opposition, as well as the Abkhaz Autonomous Republic, resist this. The leader of the opposition National Democratic Party, Georgiy Chanturiya, believes the idea behind prefectures is to deny local governing bodies their independence, and built up the power of the chairman of the Georgian Supreme Soviet, Zviad Gamsakhurdia. That is why copies of a resolution on the conflict in South Ossetia and the situation in Abkhazia, in connection with the attempted introduction of prefectures there, were sent to Gamsakhurdia. The Assembly again rejected violence as a means of settling disputes and any attempts at fanning the conflict for some leaders and organizations to capitalize on it.

Gamsakhurdia Responds to Chechens

AU0504142991 Tbilisi VESTNIK GRUZII in Russian 28 Mar 91 p 1

[Response by Georgian Supreme Soviet Chairman Zviad Gamsakhurdia to the Chechen delegation at the Assembly of Mountain Peoples of the Caucasus; date not given]

[Text] In answer to your letter, I wish to state the following:

At the news conference that was held on 23 February, I emphasized that the Ingush and Chechen peoples will not permit the creation of a "mountain republic." What I had in mind was the position of peoples and not the statement of some separate delegation. The position of the Ingush people in this matter is unambiguous.

Although members of the so-called "organizing committee" are participating in the work of the assembly, their influence upon the Ingush people is insignificant, something that became obvious at the meeting that was held in Nazran on 24 March.

We know that the Chechen people are struggling for the restoration of their own statehood. We welcome and support this struggle as we believe that, at the present stage, the creation of an independent state is more important.

Proceeding from this, the energy of the Chechen people should be directed toward the achievement of this cherished aim.

I believe that independent Caucasian states should decide the future of the Caucasus. Regarding the so-called "Assembly of Mountain Peoples," it reminds one of the so-called "Red Republic of the Northern Caucasus" that existed in the twenties; incidentally, it was precisely Chechenia that was the first to separate itself from this with the aim of creating its own statehood.

The Kremlin is trying, through the form of a "mountain republic," to create a mechanism by which it can enslave the peoples of the North Caucasus, one that would create a fictitious organism in the structure of a renewed empire. The Georgian people find it all the more incomprehensible why Sukhumi should become the capital of the "mountain republic." Abkhazia is one of the oldest parts of Georgia and any encroachment on it and its inclusion into some kind of mountain republic will be viewed by us as encroachment on the territorial integrity of the Republic of Georgia.

This constitutes direct interference in the internal affairs of Georgia. From the very beginning, the Soviet empire has opposed the so-called "Abkhazian movement" against the Georgian national liberation movement; to strengthen the former, the Kremlin is trying to annex the North Caucasus and direct it against Georgia.

This is precisely what I meant when I said that the Chechen and Ingush peoples should not be drawn into this anti-Georgian and anti-Caucasian movement.

The interests of our peoples call for coordinated and friendly relations.

Georgia has been and will be true to these principles.

[Signed] Z. Gamsakhurdia, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Georgia.

Gamsakhurdia Televised Speech 25 March

AU0504102391 Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA in Georgian 26 March 91 p 1

[Speech by Georgian Supreme Soviet Chairman Zviad Gamsakhurdia on Georgian television on 25 March]

[Text] As you know, on 23 March this year, I met with Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Mr. Boris Yeltsin. This meeting had been in preparation for a long time. It had to be put off several times for specific reasons as certain dark forces are opposing both us and Russia's democratic leadership; however, we did finally manage to hold it. I would say that the meeting was very constructive, important, and extremely useful for our country. Important measures were planned, the most significant of which will be the elaboration of a new agreement between Russia and Georgia that will be concluded in Tbilisi. This will be very important.

At an early stage [in the development] of our movement, we frequently talked about what kind of Russia suits us and what kind of relations we want to have with it. I remember that, at one of the meetings, the following slogan was advanced (perhaps partly as a joke, but it did express our feelings): Long live a free and independent Russia! At the same meeting, it was said that, if this were to happen, Georgia's struggle for independence would be strengthened; it was also said that the empire is opposing us on the path of the struggle for Georgian independence, an empire that has enslaved all nations, including Russia.

The liberation of Russia from the pincers of the empire will also help Georgia's liberation. This was our standpoint then and, you can see, it has been justified.

Today, the imperial center is opposing Russia's democratic movement, specifically, Russia's aspiration toward freedom. Fortunately, today, the alignment of forces is such that this movement will be victorious in Russia. It is precisely Russia's sovereignty and the strength of its future state that will guarantee the collapse of the Soviet empire and the emergence of sovereign independent states. It is possible that some of these states will want to unite to form some kind of union. This union will definitely not have the same form as before, however—that of a totalitarian empire. This is another matter. As you know, there are six republics that are striving for independence and full state sovereignty. Along with these, Russia is aspiring toward sovereignty and the holding of presidential elections. These presidential elections will soon take place in Russia. Yeltsin will become Russia's president and the Russian Federation will be a completely separate sovereign state. All this is accelerating the normalization of our relations and causing us to think seriously about their future development. Fortunately, the old dictate and the old expansionist tendencies no longer exist; one clear and convincing example of this fact is the protocol that we drew up at our meeting. It will be published in tomorrow's press. I would like to draw your attention to some aspects of this protocol and clarify certain points.

First, the most important thing is that, in April of this year, we have to prepare a draft on state relations between Georgia and Russia, that is to say conclude a new agreement between Russia and Georgia, for which purpose working groups have already been established. This draft will probably soon be ready, after which the agreement will be signed and then ratified.

At the same time, one of the most important aims of our meeting was to stabilize the situation in Shida Kartli [area of Georgia historically comprising six regions into which South Ossetia has now been reincorporated by the Georgian government]. One may ask the following question: Why is the Russian leadership interested in the stabilization of the situation in Shida Kartli? Because it—so-called North Ossetia—is of direct concern to Russia. I made it clear that there is no such place as North Ossetia; there is only one real Ossetia. In addition,

I explained that neither has there ever been a South Ossetia, nor is there such a place today.

I should like to draw your attention to the fact that, in the document that has been signed by both sides, the following expression is used: The former South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast. This, I believe, clearly shows that the Russian leadership and the Russian state are not interfering in our internal affairs and, unlike the center, is not insistently demanding that we restore the so-called South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast.

At the same time, we have enumerated measures that have to be implemented to stabilize the situation and restore peace in this region. In particular, we have decided to establish a joint Georgian and Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs commission. Why? Because the illegal armed formations operating in Samachablo [South Ossetia] arrive there, in the main, from the Russian Federation; hence, Russia is directly interested in the elimination of these bands. This is the reason why our internal ministries are establishing a joint commission. Once this has been done, joint detachments will be created to disarm these armed formations on the territory of former South Ossetia; that is to say, our aim is to completely disarm these bands of extremists who are operating with impunity. This is the only way that we can guarantee the restoration of peace in the region. Furthermore, separate measures have been planned for the return of refugees so they can live peacefully in those places where they lived before. The Council of Ministers of both the Republic of Georgia and the Russian Federation—this already includes the Council of Ministers of North Ossetia—are taking practical measures aimed at compensating refugees for all their losses and helping them get resettled. This agreement also contains the following very important point: The Russian Federation undertakes to consult with the USSR Ministry of Defense on the matter of the removal of Soviet Army units from Samachablo, who are preventing the stabilization of the situation there.

You know that Ossetian extremists are assembling at Soviet Army bases where they are being supplied with weapons (these weapons are then being used against our population) and helicopters that, to all intents and purposes, are at the disposal of the Ossetian extremists; they transport them to North Ossetia and carry out reconnaissance; that is to say, Soviet troops and extremists are coordinating their actions. To put an end to all this, the protocol contains an article on the necessity of withdrawing Soviet troops from Samachablo.

We believe that the implementation of these measures will result in the full restoration of peace in Samachablo. It is gratifying that the other side, that is to say Russia, has recognized the logical necessity of the step taken by us and South Ossetia is already being referred to as the former South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast.

In the main, these are the positive results that we achieved at our meeting. I believe that the future agreement between Russia and Georgia will resolve many other problems relating to the North Caucasus, Abkhazia, and other regions. In addition, I should remind you that the referendum of 31 March and the local elections are drawing near; it is highly likely that, on 28 March, the political organizations of the "Roundtable" will hold a large meeting in Tbilisi at which we will discuss problems concerned with the referendum and also our relations with other states, particularly, the Russian Federation. The date, time, and place of the meeting will be announced.

Results of USSR Referendum in Georgia Annuled

AU0504120391 Tbilisi VESTNIK GRUZII in Russian 26 Mar 91 p 1

["Resolution of the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the Republic of Georgia on the holding of the USSR referendum on the territory of the Republic of Georgia and on the elections of a deputy in Sukhumi territorial polling district No. 669 for the elections of USSR people's deputies," 22 March 1991, Tbilisi]

[Text] On 28 February 1991, the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Georgia adopted a resolution according to which the USSR referendum scheduled for 17 March 1991 was not to be held on the territory of the Republic of Georgia. Also, on 16 March 1991, the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the Republic of Georgia abolished the district electoral commission of Sukhumi territorial electoral district No. 669 for the elections of USSR people's deputies.

In spite of this, the USSR referendum was held in units of the USSR Armed Forces deployed on the territory of the Republic of Georgia, as well as in the town of Tskhinvali, in the Dzhava rayon, and in some areas of the Abkhaz Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR]; in the case of Sukhumi polling district No. 669, elections of a people's deputy also took place.

In the course of voting, the USSR laws "On the nationwide voting (the USSR referendum)" and "On the elections of USSR people's deputies" were blatantly violated, as were also the terms and order of the formation of polling stations and electoral commissions; in some places, electoral commissions were deprived of the possibility to work. At the same time, names of more than 50,000 voters in the Gali rayon of the Abkhaz ASSR were not included in voters' lists.

The Procurator's Office of the Republic of Georgia began to investigate the aforementioned facts, but this was suspended by the instruction issued by the Procurator-General of the USSR.

The Supreme Soviet Presidium of the Republic of Georgia **resolves** the following:

1. In accordance with Article 77 of the Constitution of the Republic of Georgia, the resolution of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Georgia adopted on 28 February 1991, and the resolution of the Supreme Soviet

Presidium of the Republic of Georgia adopted on 16 March 1991, the results of the USSR referendum held on 17 March 1991 on the territory of the Abkhaz ASSR, in the town of Tskhinvali, and in Dzhava rayon, and the results of the elections of the USSR people's deputy that took place at Sukhumi polling district No. 669, must be considered legally invalid.

2. The results of the referendum held on 17 March 1991 in units of the USSR Armed Forces deployed on the territory of the republic of Georgia must not be regarded as the results of the USSR referendum held on the territory of the USSR, in view of the fact that the personnel of the USSR Armed Forces has no voting rights on the territory of the Republic of Georgia.

3. To bring the attention of the Procurator-General of the USSR to the question of investigating the facts of blatant violation of the norms stipulated by law during the holding of the USSR referendum and elections of the USSR people's deputy in the Republic of Georgia and to demand that measures stipulated by law be taken.

4. To bring the attention of the Central Electoral Commission for the Elections of USSR people's deputies to the question of invalidating the results of the elections, which were held on 17 March 1991 in Sukhumi territorial electoral district No. 669 for the elections of USSR people's deputies, and to demand that new elections be organized.

5. To bring the attention of the Central Commission for the USSR referendum to the question of invalidating the results of the USSR referendum held on the territory of the Republic of Georgia.

[Signed] Z. Gamsakhurdia, Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Georgia.

Armenia Denounces Central 'Provocative Acts'

LD0804184191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1731 GMT 8 Apr 91

[Text] Yerevan, 8 Apr (TASS)—The Armenian Government stated today that "of late a number of provocative acts have been committed whose aim is to involve Armenia and Azerbaijan in a large- scale armed conflict."

The statement claims that these actions are being carried out "with the connivance and—in a number of cases—with the direct encouragement of union authorities," which, in the view of the Armenian Government, "are continuing to supply Azerbaijani OMON [special purpose militia detachment] formations with weapons," "to oppose the independent political course of the republic of Armenia, and at the same time to strengthen the leadership of Azerbaijan."

The government of Armenia has laid the responsibility for the exacerbation of the situation in the Transcaucasus region "in the first place on the central authorities" and has demanded "a halt to military escalation and deliveries of weapons to the OMON in Azerbaijan." It sees the only way out of the crisis "in the immediate restoration of the lawful bodies of power" in Nagorno-Karabakh, which is a territory within the composition of Azerbaijan which is primarily settled by Armenians and in which a state of emergency is currently in effect.

Shots Fired at Train in Armenia; One Wounded

LD0804180591 Moscow TASS in English 1737 GMT 8 Apr 91

[Text] Baku April 8 AZERINFORM-TASS—The situation has grown extremely tense on the Azerbaijani railway passing through the Megrinskiy district of the Armenian Republic, AZERINFORM was told by a spokesman for the State Security Committee of Azerbaijan.

On Sunday night, unidentified persons opened automatic gun fire at a freight train, wounding a man. It happened at a point marked "343 km" of the railway stretch between Megri and Karchevan. Automatic gunfire also hit the locomotive and trucks of another goods train at the same spot.

Also on Sunday, militants attacked an interior troops unit on the border with the Kubatli District, killing Lieutenant Oleg Babak, a political officer, and a local inhabitant and wounding four people. One man was taken hostage.

These facts were met with indignation in work collectives of the Nakhichevan section of the railway. Railwaymen say that the movement of trains towards Armenia is possible only if the Armenian Government makes an official statement condemning the action and take due measures to strengthen the protection and secure safety on the stretch of the Azerbaijani railway passing through the Megrinskiy district.

Law enforcement bodies, jointly with the railway administration, are taking steps to stabilize the situation.

Azerbaijani Leader Meets Law Enforcers

LD0804171591 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1500 GMT 8 Apr 91

[Text] Azerbaijan President Mutalibov, has had a meeting in Stepanakert with the heads of law enforcement bodies of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and the military commandant of the region under a state of emergency. The meeting discussed the question of insuring security in the region. The president met the first secretaries of the party rayon committees and the heads of the law enforcement bodies in the rayons bordering Nagorno-Karabakh in Agdam. Their appeals calling for a moratorium to be declared from 9 April on illegal actions and the blockade of roads were discussed.